

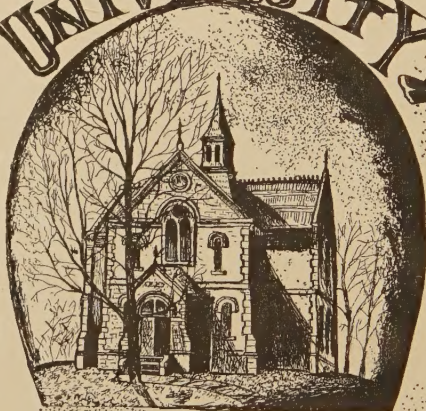
THE RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
IN TRANSYLVANIA

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THE
RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
IN
TRANSYLVANIA

THE
RELIGIOUS MINORITIES
IN
TRANSYLVANIA



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The members of the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities assume no personal responsibility for the following statements. The Commission was appointed by the Executive Committee of the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities and presents this report to all the members of the Committee and to the public.

INTRODUCTION

The statements and implications of this report will be more clearly understood by the reader if a few facts are kept in mind. The rich province of Transylvania, roughly 22,000 square miles in area, and formerly the southeastern portion of Hungary, was ceded to Roumania by the Trianon Treaty, which guaranteed the protection of all Minority rights. The Hungarian government had supported four ancient religious denominations, in much the same way that the British Government supports the Anglican Church. These were the Lutheran (both Saxon and Magyar), the Reformed or Presbyterian, the Roman Catholic, and the Unitarian Churches. Education in Transylvania was in large measure under the direct guidance of these churches in their Confessional Schools. Roumania guaranteed the full rights both of the churches and of the schools.

This Report does not include more than the four Minority groups alluded to above. But there are other Minority groups in Transylvania, each presenting its own peculiar problems and all sharing certain conditions. Because they were State Churches under the Hungarian rule, and because of their State-supported

schools and land endowments, the four denominations named present for the purpose of this Report one common problem. Beyond it, the Commission could not proceed. The other Minority groups, however, should not be ignored or forgotten, and this is particularly true of the Baptists and the Jews. Both need and should receive most careful study.

In judging what follows, it is to be remembered that in the period prior to the war and following it, rather more than half the population of Transylvania had become Roumanian. It is also to be remembered that by far the greater part of the land and institutions belonged to the Hungarians. Further, the percentage of literacy was low among the Roumanians and high among the Hungarians. From these and other conditions it followed that when this great territory was ceded to Roumania, a situation involving extraordinary problems and difficulties ensued.

It is necessary that these facts be remembered if we would understand the reason why the Lutheran, Reformed, Roman Catholic, and Unitarian Churches in the British Empire and the United States have felt a deep concern for the welfare of their co-religionists in Transylvania, and have sent Commissions at different times to visit them.

In 1924 the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities decided to send into Transylvania a joint Commission. The Committee also decided to ask the British affiliated Churches to send delegates. The Commission, as finally constituted, consisted of

the Rev. Sylvester W. Beach, M.A., D.D., of Princeton, New Jersey; the Rev. Louis C. Cornish, M.A., D.D., of Boston, Massachusetts; the Rev. Charles E. Schaeffer, M.A., D.D., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and the Rev. Arthur S. Hurn, M.A., Litt. D., of Leicester, England.

The Commission arrived at Bucharest on June 20th, and was introduced to the High Roumanian Ministers of State by the Hon. Peter Jay and Sir Herbert Dering, the American and British Ministers to Roumania. The Commission was received with the utmost courtesy and shown all possible consideration by the Roumanian Ministers, who made statements of policy as here set forth.

His Excellency Ion G. Duca, Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that the Government desired to follow a thoroughly liberal policy towards all the Minorities, religious and racial, deeming it a national necessity to maintain cordial relationships with over four million of the new population of Roumania, who form the Minorities. He admitted the occurrence of certain abuses in the past, especially in the imperfect administration of minor officials; but maintained that the most absolute respect is paid by the Government, in word and in deed, to the principles of the League of Nations Covenant with regard to the rights of Minorities.

Mr. Duca informed the Commission that the Government welcomed the fullest inquiry by impartial and enlightened investigators. The Roumanian Government, he said, had no fear of exact knowledge of the

present Minority situation, but had suffered much in the past from prejudice and misrepresentation. He affirmed the desire of the Government that the Commission should hear fully the complaints of the Minorities, and also the Roumanian side of any disputed questions.

His Excellency Mr. Alexander Lepadato, Minister of Public Worship and Arts, stated that he was satisfied that the Commission was visiting Roumania with the motive of discovering the actual situation of the Minorities under Roumanian rule. Statements published in foreign countries, especially in the British Empire and the United States, made it necessary that investigators should see for themselves the true condition of things. He placed himself and all the officials of his Department at the disposal of the Commission to assist them in the discovery of the facts. He believed that under the influence of the Ministry of Public Worship and Arts a good understanding between the different religious bodies and the Government was rapidly coming into being. He argued that at least as great a liberty of conscience and of worship is allowed under Roumanian rule as at any period before the change of government.

Mr. Lepadato pointed out that Article 22 of the new Constitution maintains absolute equality of treatment to members of all religious denominations. Its provisions are in every way in harmony with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Those leaders and members of the Minority groups who were loyal to the new Government had no cause of complaint, he

believed, against the policy and administration of his Department.

His Excellency Dr. C. Angelesco, Minister of Education, stated that since the union with Roumania the Minority Confessional Schools had been nearly doubled in number. There are now also six hundred State primary schools using the Hungarian language. These were all maintained by the Government, while under Hungarian rule there were no State schools for citizens of Roumanian speech.

Dr. Angelesco further stated that no properly conducted Confessional School had been closed during the period of two and a half years for which he had held office. The schools that had been suppressed by the Ministry were quite inefficient or without proper accommodation. He asked that particulars should be submitted in writing of any Minority schools which were considered to have suffered injustice.

His Excellency Alexander Constantinesco, Minister of Agriculture, declared that the Agrarian Reform Law was not directed against the Minorities. In Old Roumania over three million hectares of land were expropriated during 1917 and 1918, before the annexation of Transylvania. The law was applied to Transylvania in 1920. Its object was to defend the country from Bolshevist ideas, which had been making rapid headway among landless peasants. No race or institution had been favored under the Agrarian Law, which fell equally upon all, and was administered equally for the benefit of all. The Orthodox Church of Transyl-

vania suffered the expropriation of 200,000 hectares of land, and no less than 134,000 peasants of the Minority races had received grants of land in Transylvania.

The Commission was received on Monday, June 23rd, by Her Majesty the Queen at the Cotroceni Palace. The Queen conversed very cordially with the members of the Commission, but the conversation did not touch upon the question of the Minorities.

On the following day their Majesties the King and Queen received the Commission, together with other guests, at luncheon. Afterwards the King talked with the members of the Commission concerning the Minority problems, expressing his interest in the welfare of the Minorities, and stating that the Roumanian Government insisted only upon two conditions: namely, that the Minorities should become loyal citizens of the Roumanian State, and that they should acquire the Roumanian language.

His Majesty explicitly stated that the Government did not expect the Minorities ever to abandon their own languages, but only stipulated that within a reasonable time they should also acquire the Roumanian language. Both the King and the Queen expressed their approval of the purpose of the Commission to investigate the present situation of the Minority churches and institutions.

The Commission attached great importance to the interview with His Excellency Ion G. Duca, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who spoke on behalf of His

Excellency Mr. Bratiam, the Prime Minister, Mr. Duca declared that the Government accepted wholeheartedly the principle of the rights of minorities, as laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations. He emphatically stated his conviction that the future stability of the Roumanian State depended upon the loyalty and contentment of the several Minority groups, and that as a matter of public policy the Government desired to do everything within its power to make the Minorities willingly and loyally a part of the Roumanian State.

To understand the full significance of this statement, it is well to recall the geographical position of Roumania, as an outpost of Western civilization. To the north and east she faces the menace of Bolshevik Russia, and at her doors is the unending strife of the Balkans.

Before the war, as has already been stated, Roumania, to ensure stability, created a great class of small land-holding peasant proprietors, expropriating by Parliamentary action large parts of the great estates of the Orthodox Church (the Greek Orthodox Church, called in Roumania the Roumanian Church), which formerly owned one-third of all the land in the country. The same processes of expropriation were later applied to the estates of the Old Roumanian nobility. The Agrarian Reform as a whole in Old Roumania is a far-reaching and peaceful revolution away from feudalism and towards democracy.

Few fair-minded people would disapprove of the ap-

plication of the Agrarian Reform Law to Transylvania if the Roumanian people expropriated the great estates of the nobility and churches in Old Roumania and devised methods of compensation for the former owners. And the right can hardly be denied them to apply measures of Agrarian reform to the great estates in Transylvania. But the question is not so simple as it appears to be. Conditions in Old Roumania were different from the conditions of land tenure and property ownership in Transylvania. It is open to debate whether the Agrarian Reform as devised for Old Roumania was equally desirable for Transylvania. Beyond these and similar considerations there lies a very great question, which is of the utmost importance. Has the Agrarian Reform Law been equitably administered in Transylvania, or in effect has it been used as an instrument for despoiling the Minorities and enriching the majority?

In the greatly extended territory of the new Roumania live several Minority groups, among them the Saxons and the Magyars of Transylvania, who are historically hard-working, self-respecting, law-abiding and well-educated people. If justly and wisely governed, these groups may yet prove to be among the greatest and most potent influences working for the stability of the comparatively new state of Roumania against disruptive tendencies.

The members of the Commission assumed that it was to these considerations that Mr. Duca alluded, and they feel assured that if the Roumanian Government will accept this attitude towards the Minorities and

proceed according to it, the hardships which have been suffered under Roumanian rule will be alleviated and in time will cease.

Mr. Duca joined the other High Ministers of State in requesting the Commission to report in writing all cases of hardship and abuse discovered, and promised that if the alleged facts could be proved true, the abuses would be corrected, and on their own initiative they added that "the wrong-doers would be brought to justice."

On Monday evening, June 23rd, His Excellency Mr. Lepadato, Minister of Public Worship and Arts, gave a dinner to the Commission in the gardens of the Chateaubriand, where there were present distinguished representatives of the Government and of the Churches. Mr. Lepadato, himself a Transylvanian Roumanian, impressed the members of the Commission with his sincere desire to deal justly with the Minorities, and so far as possible to satisfy their legitimate demands. All who spoke dwelt on their earnest desire for conciliatory procedure with the Minorities, and their wish that the Minorities might really be welded into the Roumanian State.

The High Roumanian Ministers of State offered every facility for both the convenience and the information of the Commission. They offered to place at the disposal of the Commission a private railway car for as long a period as might be required, to travel without expense to all parts of Roumania, and they offered also to provide automobiles at the expense of the State

wherever the Commission might desire to use them. They further offered to send with the Commission an Officer of State and official interpreters.

The Commission gratefully accepted the use of the railway car between Bucharest and Cluj, and also on the return journey between Bucharest and the frontier. The acceptance was not alone for the personal convenience of the members of the Commission, but it also greatly facilitated their work. Desiring to proceed with the investigations independently, the Commission declined to be accompanied by Roumanian officials or interpreters, and also declined the use of Government automobiles. The High Roumanian Ministers of State accepted this refusal with goodwill, and left the Commission entirely free to follow its own methods. The Commission also declined to accept similar courteous offers of assistance on the part of the Minorities.

In Transylvania the Commission divided into two groups and visited many centres, where testimony was received from honored representatives concerning the present condition of the Minority churches and institutions. The Commission traveled in Transylvania about 2,200 miles, mostly by automobile.

At a concluding conference at Cluj, the Commission met the Bishops of the Reformed and Unitarian Churches, together with the official representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran Churches, both Saxon and Magyar, and received official statements of the conditions obtaining in these several groups. Later the Commission met the Roman Cath-

olic Bishop. The Lutheran, both Magyar and Saxon, and the Roman Catholic representatives promised to send written statements of alleged abuses to the Commission, supporting and enlarging the evidence submitted during the investigations and at the conferences. These promised reports have not yet been received.*

After completing its investigation in Transylvania, the Commission returned to Bucharest to make its verbal report to the High Ministers of State, and to discuss with them the facts observed. His Excellency Mr. Duca promised immediate correction of certain stated wrongs, submitted by the Commission and admitted to be true by the Government. He further renewed his promises of redress for certain specific wrongs noted, and pledged his word for the immediate action of the Government on receipt of the written memorandum of

*Since this report was written, a communication has been received from the Magyar Lutherans, reiterating the complaints made in the Memorandum and further describing present conditions. In the absence of the reports from the Saxon Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, it is deemed inexpedient to publish it.

An important communication has also been received from the Saxon Lutherans. It was not addressed to this Commission but was sent to a church official interested in the welfare of the Saxon Lutheran churches. It particularly deals with the portions of this Report concerning the treatment of the schools. Not only does it endorse all that the Commission presents, it is far more sweeping than this report in its accusation against the Roumanian treatment of the Minority schools. It is important because the testimony proceeds not from the Magyar minority but from the Saxon minority, which at first welcomed the change from Hungarian to Roumanian rule, and has now become as bitter in its opposition to Roumanian rule as is the Magyar minority.

In the absence of a formal communication from the Roman Catholics, and as the Saxon report is not addressed to this Commission, it has been deemed advisable not to include these testimonies in the Commission's Report.

the Commission, wherever the facts should prove as alleged.

His Excellency Dr. Angelesco, Minister of Education, and distinguished representatives of the other Departments of State, were entertained by the Commission at a luncheon, which was also attended by Sir Herbert Dering and the Hon. Peter Jay. Cordial sentiments towards the Minorities were again expressed by the Roumanian statesmen present. In the Conference which followed, lasting about three hours, the Minister of Education listened to the comments made by the Commission on the situation of the Minority schools, and explained the new Education Bill and the proposed amendments. The Minister of Agriculture was represented by the Secretary-General, who similarly took up the questions arising from the Agrarian Reform Law. Mr. Tartaescu represented the Prime Minister at this conference, and Dr. Vasile Gh. Ispir was present on behalf of the Minister of Public Worship and Arts. The Commission takes pleasure in recording that at this Conference Mr. Duca gave orders, later graciously fulfilled, that all the papers containing the testimony of the Minorities should be allowed freely to cross the frontier without hindrance or examination.

The American Minister, the Hon. Peter Jay, gave a luncheon to the members of the Commission, who expressed their deep sense of gratitude to him and to the British Minister, Sir Herbert Dering, for the interest they had taken in the work of the Commission, and for

their help in facilitating the approach to the Government in Bucharest.

The Commission wishes to guard the public against erroneous views of its mission, which have been circulated in the press. As an illustration of the sort of thing that has been printed, two instances are given. A Budapest newspaper published the statement that a member of the Commission had been arrested by the Roumanian authorities at the frontier and imprisoned. This was quite untrue. The members of the Commission received nothing but courtesy during the whole of their stay in Roumania. Another report stated that members of the Commission had in Bucharest expressed their entire satisfaction with the condition of the Minorities. This also is untrue, as the report of the Commission submitted to the Roumanian Government indicates grave causes of dissatisfaction which were noted by all members of the Commission. And further, the present occasion is the first on which any part of this Report has been made public.

It remains only to make a few comments on the reports of previous Commissions. Several were records of brief visits and related to conditions which have altered, and in some respects improved. In "Transylvania in 1922" an effort was made to depict the life and institutions of these Minority groups. No such effort is attempted here. The Commission assumes on the part of those who will read this report some familiarity with the beauty and the pathos of Transylvanian life, some vision of the broad and fertile plains, the little villages

with their white farmhouses and red-tiled roofs, and the towns grouped around their ancient schools and churches. The life of one of the most alluring countryside in the world made its deep appeal to the members of the Commission, as it must appeal to every traveler. The impression gained through contact with the Roumanian, the Magyar, and the Saxon life throughout this fertile land is that unless a solution can be found for the present problems, racial and linguistic, religious and economic, it will continue to be one of the saddest lands in Europe, and a menacing danger-spot for the peace of the world. The burden of responsibility for the present and future lies in a measure upon the attitude of the Minorities, but especially upon the Roumanian Government, which by the terms of the Trianon Treaty doubled its territory and also doubled its solemn responsibilities.

In conclusion, the Commission emphasizes with all possible force that while the testimony is thorough as far as it goes, and was collected with most scrupulous and painstaking care and exactitude, it is none the less neither exhaustive nor complete. Instead, it is typical and symptomatic and capable of almost endless amplification.

The Commission begs to submit that the present report can by no means be considered the conclusion of the whole matter. In the grave issues pending between the Roumanian Government and the Minority peoples, it must be understood that the affiliated churches in Great Britain and the United States have a duty to per-

form just so long as the present conditions obtain. The Commission therefore urges upon churches and societies the continuance for the present of their financial aid to the Minority churches. The Commission believes that the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities and other similar agencies, while not presuming to interfere in any respect with the rights that pertain to the civil government of Roumania, should so far as possible continue both to inform and to focus public opinion, to the end that equity for all shall be the policy of the Roumanian Government in dealing with these problems. We respectfully urge that the affiliated institutions keep in touch with both the parties interested, and seek every possible way of mutual co-operation to bring about amicable adjustments. This will take time, but with perseverance it can ultimately be accomplished. The entire civilized world is deeply concerned in the settlement of the issues involved.

The Report was compiled by Dr. Cornish in collaboration with other members of the Commission.

TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES THE HIGH
MINISTERS OF STATE OF THE
ROUMANIAN GOVERNMENT:

THE MEMORANDUM OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
COMMISSION OF 1924 TO THE MINORITY
CHURCHES OF TRANSYLVANIA

Several Commissions concerned about the welfare of the four churches formerly supported by the Hungarian State have visited Transylvania since 1919, representing the affectionate interest felt by the sister churches of the Transylvanian Lutheran, Presbyterian or Reformed, Roman Catholic, and Unitarian Churches throughout the British Empire and the United States. These Commissions have failed to be satisfied that the Roumanian Government has yet fulfilled the provisions of the Trianon Treaty guaranteeing the rights of the Minority churches. Their reports have been widely circulated in both the British Empire and the United States and have caused much comment unfavorable to Roumania.

The American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, composed of men of international repute

and belonging to all denominations, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, decided to send a Joint Commission to Transylvania in the summer of 1924, impartially and without prejudice, to learn what are the present conditions. Invitations were sent to the British Churches also to send delegates.

As organized, the Commission of 1924 consists of the Rev. Sylvester W. Beach, M.A., D.D., Minister of the Presbyterian Church of Princeton, New Jersey, Chairman of the Committee on Work in Europe of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System, representing also the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Churches of the United States of America; the Rev. Charles E. Schaeffer, M.A., D.D., General Secretary and Executive of the Board of Home Missions of the Reformed Church of the United States of America, Chairman of the Delegation of the Reformed Church in the Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and also a delegate of the World Alliance above mentioned; the Rev. Arthur S. Hurn, M.A., Litt.D., Minister of the Great Meeting, Leicester, England, President of the North Midland Presbyterian and Unitarian Association, representing the British and Foreign Unitarian Association; and the Rev. Louis C. Cornish, M.A., D.D., Chairman of the Commission, General Secretary and Executive of the American Unitarian Association, representing the Unitarian Churches of the United States and the Dominion of Canada. The Commission has the honor to represent a constituent

membership in the Churches of at least sixty million persons in the British Empire and the United States.

The Report of the Commission will be accepted as decisive testimony concerning the Roumanian treatment of the Minority churches and institutions. The Commission therefore takes with the utmost seriousness the great responsibility for the wide publicity which will attend the publication of its report, and respectfully urges the Roumanian Government to make an early investigation of the alleged abuses herewith submitted. The Commission further respectfully requests the Roumanian Government to state explicitly what corrections it has been able to make, wherever after investigation the alleged facts shall have been substantiated.

The Commission must publish its report at the earliest possible moment, and it therefore respectfully requests that a reply be sent to the Chairman of the Commission before Oct. 15th, 1924. It should be addressed to the Rev. Louis C. Cornish, D.D., at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

The Commission is aware that some, and perhaps many, of the irregularities alleged in the Memorandum herewith submitted may require time to redress, and it therefore respectfully requests the Roumanian Government to give assurance that the same policy of justice shall be pursued in dealing with these protracted cases as in the instances where immediate redress can be given.

The Commission records with much appreciation

the cordial welcome given upon its arrival at Bucharest, and notes with satisfaction that the High Ministers of State approved the plan of the Commission to hear the testimony of the Minority representatives, and further that they placed at the disposal of the Commission every facility for making a thorough and impartial investigation.

The Commission takes pleasure in recording the general testimony that conditions have improved since the visit of the Anglo-American Unitarian Commission of 1922, and the visit of the Representatives of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches during the same year.

The Commission has endeavored to group the existing difficulties as follows:—

I. The new law compelling societies to submit their statutes to the Ministry, and also to obtain permission to hold meetings, is held by many to work great hardship for the Minority groups. It is alleged that these laws interfere seriously with denominational meetings of many kinds, including those for prayer and for social purposes, and that in effect they contradict the guarantee of freedom of assembly for the Minority denominations in their religious life and work.

II. Alleged cases of personal abuse on the part of officials have been reported to the Commission. We respectfully ask for an investigation of these complaints, and if they are found to be true, for the definite punishment of the offending officials. There exists a widespread belief that it is useless and even dangerous for the Minorities to complain of the violence, insult,

and corruption alleged against the officials in many towns and villages. The Commission respectfully points out that nothing would be more certain to dispel this belief than the punishment of officials proved guilty of misdemeanors, and nothing would be more certain to silence the present criticism of the Roumanian treatment of the Minorities.

III. While the Commission refrains from expressing any opinion as to how far the stipulations of the Trianon Treaty might modify the Roumanian administration of education in its relation to the Confessional Schools, it respectfully submits, provided the facts are as alleged, that in maintaining the Confessional Schools the Minorities suffer much hardship in their attempt to provide an education in harmony with their religious convictions.

IV. The Commission refrains from expressing any opinion as to whether the lands belonging to the Minority churches and schools can under the terms of the Trianon Treaty be properly included within the scope of the laws redistributing the land under the Roumanian Agrarian Reform. Within the application of these laws, however, it is alleged that there are many cases of discrimination against the Minority churches and schools, the particulars of which appear in the memorandum.

V. The Commission submits alleged cases of interference with the guaranteed rights of Minorities, which are unrelated to each other and do not fall into any of the four groups already named. Detailed statements

of these five classifications are herewith submitted. The Commission desires respectfully to make plain that by no means all the testimony received in Transylvania has been included in these representations. Only the instances which appear to be substantiated by the testimony of credible witnesses, and often many credible witnesses, are submitted. The Commission desires also to explain that so far as possible it has eliminated all testimony relating to incidents which happened more than two years ago.

The Commission with appreciation recalls the assurance of the High Roumanian Ministers of State given in Bucharest that a full and fair investigation of these alleged facts will be made as soon as possible, and that wherever they are proved to be true, the injustices will be corrected and the wrong-doers punished.

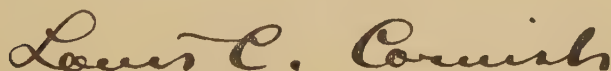
(Signed) Sylvester W. Beach.

(Signed) Louis C. Cornish.

(Signed) Arthur S. Hurn.

(Signed) Charles E. Schaeffer.

Respectfully submitted to the High Roumanian Ministers of State by



London, England.
August 1st, 1924.

Chairman of the Anglo
American Commission of 1924.

TO THE HONORABLE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CHURCHES

THE ANSWER TO THE MEMORANDUM OF AUGUST
10TH, 1924, ON THE MINORITY CHURCHES
OF TRANSYLVANIA

Cabinet du Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres.

Bucharest, October 28, 1924.

The Rev. Dr. LOUIS C. CORNISH, D.D.
Beacon Street 25,
Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A.

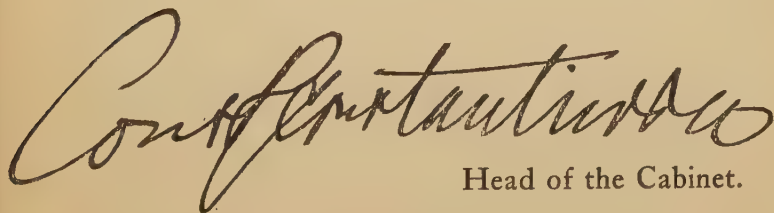
Dear Sir,

I have the honor of sending you herewith the answer to the different points of the Memorandum of August 10th, according to the promise which was given to you.

Begging you to be so kind as to let me know if it would be possible to you to communicate the contents of that answer to the other distinguished Representatives of the American Churches who take an interest in it,

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to be 'Constantin Brătianu', written in a cursive style.

Head of the Cabinet.

*TO THE HONORABLE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CHURCHES:—

We have the honor of forwarding herewith a detailed answer on the various points which you brought to our notice, according to the statement I had the advantage of making on the occasion of your visit to Bukarest.

Although the Roumanian State does not acknowledge that anyone has the right to interfere in its internal affairs, otherwise than in pursuance of the formal provisions of the treaties which it has signed, it is always ready to contribute towards enlightening those "bona-fide" persons who wish to be informed as to the real situation in Roumania.

We are the more especially pleased to forward these particulars as we consider that the accusations brought against Roumania, proceed from her enemies, who have every interest to slander her, and that, consequently, she can only gain by a true light being thrown on the state of affairs.

Likewise the Roumanian State is conscious, that in the question of minorities, its policy is animated by the broadest spirit of tolerance and liberalism, and in consequence we see no reason for not expounding openly its acts and its intentions.

It is possible that in the application of this policy,

*The reply of the Roumanian Government was received by the Commission as it is here presented. A few slight inaccuracies occur in the English and punctuation, due doubtless to the mistakes of the translator or copyist in Bucharest. The reply is printed verbatim.

some mistakes may have been made by certain subaltern agents, especially in the troubled times we are going through; but the Roumanian Government is firmly decided to put an end to them immediately it is informed.

In this feeling we send you the matter we have gathered and hope you also will examine it under the light which the above consideration throws on it.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The Government, in order to be as fully and impartially informed, in the smallest details, has undertaken at the same time a close investigation, through its administrative organs, and has also applied for information from the heads of the minority religions.

The cause why the answer to the memorandum was so long in coming, is owing to the fact that the Unitarian and Reformed religion Bishops needed time in order to collect, the information which the Government wanted from them, so as to be able to throw a true light on the whole matter and judge rightly.

The following facts acknowledged by the Reformed Bishop of Cluj and forming the object of his letter No. 7448 of September 19th 1924 are characteristic. He says: "I knew nothing about any of these complaints having been set forth, and most of these circumstances are completely unknown to me." As well as the Unitary Bishops' answer in his letter dated September 13th 1924 No. 2481 in which he says:

"Immediately I receive the exact data, which I am unable to give you now, from my Central office, as they were handed to the Anglo-American Delegation, by the different parishes, I will forward them to you."*

These facts formally confessed, prove that not even the ecclesiastical authorities, who were directly interested in the matter, had any knowledge of the facts which form the object of the memoir.

Bishop Nagy (Reformed Church) accompanied one section of the deputation on its journeys in Transylvania, and presided at all the meetings with the representatives of the Minorities, except the meetings at Cluj. There Bishop Ferencz (Unitarian), the senior Bishop of the Minority churches, presided at all the conferences with the representatives of the four Minority groups. Bishop Nagy was present at all these conferences and participated. See Introduction, pages 18 and 19.

* The notes in italics inserted in the Reply are the comments of the Commission.

SECTION I

ALLEGED INTERFERENCE WITH THE GUARANTEED
RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY

1. It is alleged that at Bagin, Turda District, on Jan. 8th, 1922, a meeting for religious instruction, singing hymns and psalms, was held in the Parish Hall in accordance with a general order for such meetings sent from the Chief Consistory to all the Unitarian Churches. The Primar of the village went into the meeting and told the Pastor that it could not continue. The Pastor produced the law showing that such meetings might be held and without special permission. The Primar replied in effect that he was ruler (boss) of the village and that if any persons dared to attend such meetings he would expel them from the country. The Pastor reported the whole matter to the Bishop, and the Primar to the Minister of Cults. The Pastor paid the Primar 200 lei, and the meetings were allowed to continue, but few persons dared attend.

SECTION I

ROUMANIAN REPLY TO ALLEGED INTERFERENCE
WITH THE GUARANTEED RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY

First of all it must be well understood that the law ruling juridical persons, under which all companies are bound to submit their statutes to the respective Ministry do not apply exclusively to the minorities, but is a general law for all the inhabitants of the land, without any distinction as to nationality or religion.

As regards the meetings of the different minority religions we give the most formal assurance, that they have the fullest liberty to hold all kinds of meetings provided in their statutes, and if in the past it may have happened that subaltern organs have prevented a meeting supposed to have other than religious objects, the Government has always taken proper lawful steps.

1. In this matter the prefect of the district sends us the following report: "At Bagin the Unitarian priest Kovaci Imre holds meetings in the evenings twice a week between 9-10 o'clock, without asking for an authorization. The mayor Ioan Luca, doing his duty entered the meeting room to control, and was turned out and abused by the priest himself, with the following words: "I don't care for the Minister nor the Prime Pretor,—here I give orders." Consequently the priest Kovaci was punished with a 200 lei fine (after a regular trial). This fine, sanctioned by the subprefectura, was paid in to the mayor of the com-

2. It is alleged that at Moldovenesti, Turda District, on June 9th, 1924, permission was given by county authorities for a dancing party. It was broken up by local gendarmes who gave as reason that the youths had not worked enough on the gendarmes' land.

3. It is alleged that at Dambau, Tarnava District, the Pastor was compelled to ask permission for all meetings, except Sunday worship, and for six months since January, 1924, no permission has been given, and no meetings held.

mune according to the regulations, so that there can be no question of bribery.

It is to be observed that in January, 1922, when this happened the commune was in the zone under martial law, and any meeting of three or more persons, without leave from the authorities was prohibited.

Even the Unitarian Bishop in his note No. 2793 of October the 20th, 1922, acknowledges that the priest was called to the Prime Pretor's office, and that by a judgment of Sept. 10th, 1922, he was fined 200 lei, for an outrage against the authorities. Therefore there was no question of bribery, but of a fine inflicted by a valid judgment.

2. The investigations proved that at Moldovenesti the police never prevented the young people from dancing in the commune, nor was any order ever given to that purpose. There could also have been no question of young men being compelled to work the gendarme's lands, as the commune of Moldovenesti has not the least plot of ground or garden.

The complaint does not necessarily apply to communal land, but to any garden plot which the gendarmes might have been cultivating.

3. As regards these facts the Prefect reports:

In the whole territory of the district of Tarnava Mica never was a leave refused to anyone for a meeting. The Priest of Dambau never asked leave for a meeting, either from the Prefect, nor from the Pretors, nor from the police, nor did he make any complaint. Therefore all the accusations set down under

4. It is alleged that at Arcus, Treiscaune, District, in March, 1924, meetings of the Francis David Association were stopped by order of the Prefect, although plainly within the law.

5. It is alleged that at Pauleni, Odorheiu District, meetings of the Culture Clubs were forbidden except on Sundays, when it was most inconvenient. The Unitarian Consistory appealed. The answer was given that meetings could be held on Sundays only.

6. It is alleged that at Firtuseni, Cristur District, in March, 1924, the Prefect of Odorheiu advised the pastor not to hold meetings of the Francis David Association until its constitution had been approved, and no further meetings can be held.

heading No. 1, are proved to be without any foundation.

4. The Prefect of the district states that the meetings were never stopped by him, or by either, neither verbally nor in writing.

5. As regards this paragraph, the Unitarian Bishop of Cluj answers us as follows: In the commune of Pauleni in the district of Odorhei, there is no ecclesiastical Unitary community, therefore it is not a fact that the Unitary consistory sent in a complaint.

Probably through a mistake of the copyist this instance of alleged abuse was given as Unitarian when it may have belonged to one of the other three Minority groups. The Commission acknowledges the error.

6. It was urged under this heading that the Prefect of Odorhei prevented the meetings of the Francis David Society. On this point the Unitarian Bishop owns that the prefect gave no orders concerning the meetings of this Society, but that the Unitary Priest, reminded the honorary Prime Pretor Revoiu, verbally that he would like to create a branch of this Society, and the Prime Pretor answered him, likewise verbally, that no society may be established without having its statutes approved by the Ministry. This proves that the complaint was not founded, as the formalities laid down by the law were not carried out, for creating a branch, and the whole matter is reduced to a private conversation between the Priest and the Prime Pretor.

7. It is alleged that in Targul-Sacnasc, Treiscaune District, the Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches held a festival for common church purposes, but the Officers gave permission only when the churches paid 1000 lei for Jancu-Statue-Fund, for which they did not give a receipt.

8. It is alleged that the professors of the seven ancient Transylvanian Reformed Colleges wished to create a small society in which they could discuss their material and spiritual affairs. The Minister did not grant permission, on the ground that it might lead to denominational friction.

9. It is alleged that at Uiaora, Alba Inferiore District, on February 24th, 1924, a gendarme prevented the holding of a Reformed Church meeting until the Prefect gave permission, which was not required by the law. It is alleged that gendarmes are constantly interfering with members of the Reformed Churches in their religious work, without cause.

10. It is alleged that at Moldovenesti, Turda District, on June 7th, 1924, permission for a meeting of the Francis David Association was received from Baia de Aries. Two gendarmes ordered the minister to stop the meeting, but having official permission he refused. The gendarmes then broke up the meeting.

The Commission submits in this connection that the constant complaint of the Minorities was to the effect that written orders were often refused by the Roumanian officials and they had to content themselves with verbal orders, which later on the Roumanian officials would deny having given.

7. On this point the Prefect gives us the following answer, that there is no trace of the police having issued the authorization only upon receiving 1000 lei for the Avram Iancu statue. What is more the statement does not point out the time, or the persons cheated. On the contrary, according to the declarations of the Hungarian Priests of Targul Secuilor, on file in this office, it will be seen that this affirmation is totally unfounded.

We repeat: These statements are made by the Reformed Priest, by the Romano Catholic Priest, and by the Head of the local police.

8. The statutes could not be sanctioned for the reason that the necessary formalities required by law for this kind of associations were not fulfilled.

9. What we repeated here show clearly, that if an inferior organ committed an illegal act, and those concerned, (as in this case) applied to the competent authority, the fact was looked into, and has been set right. We are sure that if the minorities had applied in all these matters to the competent superior authorities many misunderstandings would be avoided.

10. We have no knowledge of this case, if the gendarmes have made any difficulties this is due to the

11. It was stated to the Commission by the accredited representatives of the Reformed, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran Churches, both Saxon and Magyar, that constant interference with their denominational meetings by local Roumanian authorities, without cause and without the sanction of the law, greatly hampered their religious work. Lists of specific instances were promised, but have not yet been received by the Commission.

fact, that the Priest did not inform the police as to the day and the hour of the meeting.

No answer is given to Paragraph 11.

SECTION II

ALLEGED INSTANCES OF VIOLENCE AND THE
CORRUPTION OF OFFICIALS

1. It is alleged that on or about July 15th, 1923, Domokos Sofalvi, the Unitarian Pastor of Cechesti, Cristur District, was walking home from the village of Avramesti when he met two gendarmes, one the Plutonel Achim of Avramesti. The Plutonel dismounted and struck the Pastor on both sides of the face, calling him Bolshevik and Irredentist. He said he was the Pastor of the next village and after further abuse he was allowed to proceed. The only witness of the blows was the other gendarme, who is not identified. Complaint was made to the Prime Praetor of Cristur, but the gendarme did not appear at the trial. On appeal to the District Court the Plutonel denied that he had struck the Pastor.

2. It is alleged that in October, 1923, a workman, Arpad Fabian, sent a turkey to be sold by his wife in the market place of Oraseni, Odorheiu District. The wife of the chief of police, Nicolai Cruclin, agreed to buy it for 130 lei. The young son of Arpad carried the turkey to the home of the chief of police and was given 30 lei. Arpad Fabian then went to the home to ask for the balance of the payment and was badly beaten by Nicolai Cruclin.

SECTION II

ALLEGED CASES OF VIOLENCE AND CORRUPTION ON
THE PART OF THE AUTHORITIES

In a general way we may observe that the Roumanian government never tolerated the public officials to abuse of their position, and to commit illegal acts against the inhabitants of the country of whatever religion or nationality without inflicting proper punishment. In fact it will be easy to find, from the following relation that the charges brought against the government officials, are simple insinuations made in order to lead the Delegation into error. The very fact that the superior church authorities, know nothing to this moment of the alleged abuses committed by the public officials, proves sufficiently that these complaints are made in evil intention.

See the reference to the Bishops and accompanying footnote on pages 18 and 19.

1. In reference to this the Unitarian Bishop of Cluj informs us that this case was judged by the justice of the peace on November 13th, 1923, and is now pending before the Tribunal of Odorhei. The Bishop further informs us, that the Prefect of the District has also investigated the case on the spot, questioning the under officer who denies the fact of which he is accused.

2. We esteem that such an act cannot be considered as an injustice committed to a person in quality of mem-

3. It is alleged that at Bodogaia, Cristur District, in January, 1924, a meeting for adults in the Unitarian Church ordered to be held by the Bishop and Chief Consistory at Cluj was broken up by the gendarme, Juon Oltean, of Sacueni, who threatened to lock up in a cellar all who attended.

4. It is alleged that in February, 1924, at Oraseni, Odorheiu District, a party of boys were singing in the village street, when they were attacked by three gendarmes and beaten with rifle butts.

ber of the minority. The citizen's duty was to appeal to the authorities. But we have Mr. Arpad Fabian's statement, that the allegation is not true. Besides that, the Prefect tells us that an action for libel has been introduced against the Maghiar paper "Brassoi Lapok," which was the first to publish the news.

3. In reference to the facts included herein, we are informed by the Unitarian Bishop that it was not the Bishop or the Unitarian consistory which called the meeting of the members of the Unitarian Church, but the Priest who wanted to hold a meeting without complying to the rules imposed on all citizens. The Priest has the right of holding without a license, only the church meetings provided by the laws of the Unitarian Church, while for all other meetings he must have the permission of the authorities. On this point the Prefect declares that no meeting was ever closed.

4. In reference to this case, the Unitarian Priest Josef Baro who was present makes the following statement:—

On the occasion of the visit of the Anglo-American Delegation being told that whatever complaint we have to make we are to declare it, I mentioned as an insignificant fact, that the gendarmes had dispersed a group of youngsters who were singing in the street at night time, without ill treating them; at the same time I told the Delegation not to consider this as a complaint. Against the administration we have had nor have we anything to complain of.

5. It is alleged that in March, 1924, Plutonel Crisan, of Adamos, District of Tarnava, with other gendarmes arrested Mr. Coloman Rykojz, Reformed Pastor of Schomfalas, Mr. Szasg, the teacher, and a retired Hungarian Colonel of Gendarmes. The three prisoners were taken to the Gendarmerie at Adamos and there were severely beaten with rifle butts and sticks. The following day Crisan went to their houses and by threats forced them to sign a declaration that they had suffered no outrage.

6. It is alleged that in March, 1924, the Plutonel Crisan, as above, arrested Mr. Elemir Daniel, Mr. Mihely Daniel, Dr. Keozeg Ferencz, and Mr. Joseph Balazs, taking them to a room in the town hall at Gal-felam, where they were badly beaten. They were also forced to sign a declaration that they had suffered no outrage.

5. The inquiries made at Sanfalau, establish that nobody was beaten; and the Prefect of the District reports as follows: The supposed facts under point 2, happened in March, 1923, and not in 1924, when the incidents at the Hungarian frontier happened, which provoked the proclamation of martial law, and a partial mobilization.

In Sanfalau the Hungarians were late in coming to military concentration, and when the fact was looked into, it was found that the Reformed Priest, Solomon Rakossy and a former Hungarian colonel of the gendarmes, assembled the Hungarians in the Church, where the counsel was held. Being suspected with good reason of instigation in these abnormal times they had to be questioned at the office of the gendarmes, and having refused to go there, they had to be conveyed two kilometres to be heard, and the documents forwarded to the public prosecutor to be looked into.

6. The inquiries made in this question and the Prefect's statements are as follows: In 1923 Mr. Elemer Daniel after the publishing of the District Commission decision, for the Agrarian reform, declared before the Commission in Hungarian "This is a law made by robbers!" The gendarmes questioned him and drew up the proper documents. The others pointed out were examined in the same way because in March of 1923 and not of 1924 were found to have assembled secretly in the Commune of Sanfalau. This was also in martial law and military concentration days.

They were not beaten, as they own themselves.

7. It is alleged that at Adamos, the Plutonel Crisan, as above, gives permission for assemblies on condition that the church people work on his land and without payment, and that this officer has enriched himself by corrupt practices, and is greatly feared.

8. It is alleged that in March, 1924, Joseph Bann, member of the Unitarian Church in Bodogaia, Cristur District, was beaten by the gendarme Juon Olten, of Sacueni, and illegally deprived of 500 lei. Application was made to the Court in April, 1924, but without result.

9. It is alleged that at Jara de Jos, Turda-Aries District, on June 8th and 9th, 1924, a number of Unitarians were ordered to convey Roumanian singers in their farm carts to Turda. No payment was given. The Unitarians were obliged to miss their service and communion of Whitsunday, Pentecost.

10. It is alleged that Isban Sandor, Presbyter of the Unitarian Church at Jara de Jos, District of Turda-Aries, left his mother in his house in the village and went away for a short time. He returned on June 8th, 1924, and found the Praetor Vasilie Rosu living in his house. On asking for his furniture the Praetor beat him about the head with a stick. His wounds were seen by the Unitarian Pastor.

11. It is alleged that at Racosul de Jos, Alba de Sus District, on June 24th, 1924, the Plutonel of Gendarmes ordered people to keep a festival and to put out flags. This was a caprice, as there was no Roumanian anniversary, and no flag appeared on the Gendarmes' house.

7. After proper inquiry, it was found that the under officer, Crisan is a poor man, and conscientious in carrying out his duty; formerly a Hungarian gendarme; the medal for faithful service was awarded to him and he is consequently in the black looks of the Hungarians. It is not true that he claimed that the members of the church should work for him without being paid.

8. On this point the Prefect reports that the guilt of the gendarme has not been proved. However, as it was found that he did not fulfill his duty to the satisfaction of the population, at the Prefect's request, he was removed. The Unitarian Bishop himself owns that the gendarme did not take any money from Mr. Josef Ben.

9. The conveyance of the singers mentioned here was effected by carriage, driven chiefly by Roumanians, by mutual agreement between the local authorities and the peasants.

10. Istvan Sandor entered violently by night, into the Praetor Rosu's house, who is a State official, abusing and striking him. The case is pending before the Justice of the Peace, of Tara de jos. The house was requisitioned by the proper commission, according to law.

11. The inquiry shows that no one was ever obliged to put up the flag.

12. It is alleged that at Mujna, Odorheiu District, and many other places similar incidents have occurred.

13. It is alleged that at Martinus, Odorheiu District, several Magyar Unitarian youths on Sunday June 29th, 1924, were forced by the gendarmes to work for them without payment, in their fields, this on Sunday afternoon and contrary to their religious convictions.

14. It is alleged that at Oraseni, Odorheiu District, and in other neighboring villages, gendarmes have many times beaten boys for singing in the streets. This happened particularly in January and February, 1924.

15. It is alleged that at Yonesti, Odorheiu District, in February or March, 1924, a group of young men and women were singing songs in a private house, when two gendarmes held the doors, and two other gendarmes entered and beat the young men with their rifle butts. It is alleged that the gendarmes said no songs could be sung in Hungarian. The Commission was assured that the gathering was nothing more than an informal party, and that the songs sung were "folk songs," and were of no political significance.

16. It is alleged that on the Festivals of the Roumanian Church, people are prevented from working on the fields by the gendarmes, but it often happens that gendarmes drive people to work on the gendarmes' land on ordinary Sundays. For example, it is alleged that at Martinus, Odorheiu District, on June 29th, 1924, the young people were compelled to work in the

12. Same answer.

13. The official report drawn up by the mayor of Martinus shows that the declarations are gratuitous.

14. From the declaration made before us by the Unitarian Priest of the commune of Oraseni, we see that he made no complaint before the Anglo-American Delegation about the gendarmes having found youngsters singing in the street and beating them, and simply reminded that they had scattered a group of lads who were singing by night time disturbing the inhabitants' rest. At the same time begged the Delegation not to file this fact as constituting a complaint.

15. The Priest declares that the complaint brought before the American Delegation is unfounded, and that he only said that in the year 1920 the gendarmes dispersed a group of boys and girls, who had no permission for a meeting, without striking them. We repeat that at that time martial law was still in effect.

16. An inquiry was made at Martinus which shows how untrue the complaint was. No kind of complaint was forwarded to the authorities.

fields against their religious convictions, and were prevented from taking part in the church services. It is further alleged that the gendarmes paid nothing to the young people for their work, and that the land on which they were forced to work, had been ploughed and harrowed by the Cantor of the congregation, who was compelled to do this by the gendarme without payment for his labor.

17. It is alleged that at Cernatul de Sus, Treiscaune District, the Hungarian Government maintained the Elementary School previous to the Revolution in 1918. In the chaotic time of the Revolution this school was discontinued. Thereupon the Reformed Congregation started a Confessional School on the basis of the Hungarian Law still valid (1868; xxxviii.t.c. II.s). Of this the Congregation sent a notice to the Government according to its decrees. The Government (A Ministerul Instructiunii Secretariaul General) accepted the notice and permitted the work of the school by the communication No. 10664-1921. On this basis all the Reformed children were enrolled in this school, so that the State school which was started later, had only a few pupils. The Government appointed to its school Hungarian teachers, with a view to, and on the terms of their alluring the Confessional School's pupils over to the Government School, by which the Confessional School would have been stopped. It is alleged that the Government teachers, on behalf of their own living, started the dispute, with the help of the State Officials and County Police, against the parents, Presbyteries,

17. As regards the behavior of the Priest Meggyaszai, the Prefect sends the following report: It is true that the Secretariat General gave the due authorization for a Reformed Church School in Cernatul de jos in 1921, but only on the condition of having a proper building. Now the building was quite unfit, which is easy to prove. The Department finding this to be so, by a special Commission, on the basis of the existing laws, closed the school.

It is true that the Government appointed Hungarian teachers in the Hungarian communes, at the State schools, for the reason that the language for the lessons is the Hungarian language, because there were no Roumanians who could teach in Hungarian. If Roumanians had been used, it would certainly not have been well. . . . These Hungarian teachers have come into conflict with the Priests, not on our account, but because they have been boycotted by the Hungarian Priests for the reason that they dared to enter the Roumanian service, taking the oath of allegiance. A regular crusade was taken up by the priests against these teachers; for instance, as they had been formerly chanters in the Hungarian churches, they were punished for their loyal attitude towards the Roumanian State, by being suspended and turned out of their lodging as chanters. As they remained houseless a struggle took place between them and the Priests, in which they got the best of it, for the people saw that the Priests also took the oath when it was a question of getting help from the State. In the gratuitous

and the minister. On the 15th of October, 1923, the County Police announced that meetings of the Board of Studies, and Presbytery, even Bible-classes and Religious Evening Parties, could be held only with permission, and in the presence of the County Police. Moreover, Michael Megyasay, was told by the Head Officer of the County Police, that he could not even preach in the pulpit without his presence. The minister asked for these orders in writing, but it was denied to him. Then the Prime Praetor of Kezdivasarhely was informed about a meeting of the Presbytery held previous to the announcement, without the permission of the gendarmes, and the Presbyteries were fined altogether 6,300 lei. Later on they accused the minister Megyasay of forcing the parents to enroll their children in the Confessional School, that he was mocking the children who were going to the Government School, and that he was agitating against the Government School and through this against the State. On the ground of these accusations the Reformed Church Consistory was ordered to examine the case.

It is alleged that on the 23rd of December, 1923, the head of the gendarmes went to the home of the minister and carried him by force to the Village Hall, where he was beaten with the help of the Praetor so cruelly that his body was badly swollen in many places. The beating was repeated five days later and still more cruelly so that he could not go to a doctor to have a certification of his injuries until after another five days. Then he was watched so closely that he could only make

State schools the teaching still goes on in Hungarian, so that it was natural for the school children from Cernatul de jos, not to go to the Priests school which was bad and expensive. It is a wonder however to see what a poor proof of political wisdom, the Hungarians gave in bringing up this case of the Priest Meggyaszai, of Cernatul de Jos, who openly made a show of the most antipatriotic propaganda, all the time, and who besides this not being quite in his right mind astonished even his own countrymen. This abnormal individual was condemned and arrested by Court Martial for instigation. An extract from the public prosecutor's office shows that four criminal cases are pending against him. This man was on bad terms with all the officials. He had a fight with the mayor, who was also a Hungarian,—it is not true either, that he was prevented from holding a meeting or that the gendarmes beat him.

It is not true that two gendarmes of Cernatul de Jos, were detached for the Priest's residence at his expense. The truth is that, at mayor's request, who is a Hungarian of the commune, two gendarmes were detached for three days, in that commune as there was fear of a rising on account of the fierce instigations of the Priest, who had divided the commune into two sides, the Hungarians of the Priest's side, and the Hungarians of the mayor's side. Therefore the Priest was defended, on the contrary, by the gendarmes, against the Hungarians.

In another country a man like this would be

his report later on. These events stirred up the people, and on the 23rd of December, 1923, they made a complaint to the Prefect that he should remedy the insult. The Prefect promised to discharge the Praetor, but only on the condition that the Church should disown the minister. This the people declined to do. Then the Prefect caused the members of the Presbytery to give up their Municipal Offices. Moreover, two county gendarmes were forced into the home of Mr. Megyaszy at his expense in order that they should watch and control him. Since this he has been much harassed and made to travel from office to office to plead his case.

18. It is alleged that in September, 1923, at Retin, Treiscaune District, the Prefect ordered the State School to be restored by a public collection, and the people were informed exactly how much they must give. The Reformed Church minister, Dr. Denes Jaulso, criticized this procedure. He was arrested on accusation of agitation, was kept in jail three days, and without trial was registered as "an Agitator" and "Unreliable." It is alleged that the so-called collection in effect was an unlawful tax levied without the authority of government by local officials, and that the treatment of the minister was an instance of attempted intimidation.

19. It is alleged that Nikolaus Volloncs, Reformed Minister of Naksza, was arrested in June, 1919, and confined for three days on the indictment that he was agitating against the Army. On the 18th of February,

punished; but the Roumanian authorities, were very tolerant, more so even than the Hungarian population which at Targu Secuilor in December 1925 when the administrative counsel met expressed the opinion, that even the partisans of the Priest have enough of these quarrels, and that it would be desirable, for him to leave the commune. At the Department of Cult, from where the Priest drew his care there were endless complaints against him for his antipatriotic behavior.

18. In reference to the school of Ratin, it is true that orders were given for repairing it on the inspector's request, because that commune had a contract with the Hungarian State, in strength of which the commune had to carry out the repairs. It is to be noted that the repairs were insignificant, still the reformed Priest, Dr. Benes instigated the population not to repair the School; fact which can be proved by the Hungarians of the locality. At the fanatical agitation which he provoked, the population assaulted the Prime Pretor Ion Giurgiu who had arrived on the premises. For this act the instigating priest was maintained under arrest by the Surety Department, after which the prefect set him free at the request of his relations.

Therefore the fee imposed was lawful, and the Priest, if he had not enjoyed the Prefect's favor, would have been locked up.

19. At Macsa no meeting was prohibited, and Mr. Wolloncs the reformed priest, has an inveterate hatred for Roumania. Nevertheless the local administration for the love of peace, continues to overlook many actions, that might not be expected from a loyal citizen.

1921, when he was continuing his work among young people who were having a rehearsal for theatricals, he was carried to the Gendarme Station and was cruelly beaten so that blood flowed from his nose and mouth. No punishment was given the gendarmes, but Valloncs was forbidden by the Prime Praetor to hold any meetings with his young people.

20. It is alleged that in 1923 Bela Kelemen of Targul-Sacuescu, lost 4000 lei in the market place. The gendarmes caused Louis Toth, of Lemheny, to repay it, although he was not even accused by Kelemen. The gendarmes shared in the money which Toth was forced to pay after having been threatened.

21. It is alleged that the constable of Targul-Sacuesc, Treiscaune District, bought a fabric in a neighboring village, but never paid for it. When the seller demanded his money he was forced to give a written declaration that the constable owed him nothing. This case was related by Dr. Gavril Jancro, Public Notary.

22. It is alleged that Charles Kiss, professor of a State school in Kezdivasarhely, appealed for his pension. His wife had been very active in the Reformed Church Institutions. He was recommended in April, 1923, courteously but pressingly that his wife should give up this work. This she had to do.

23. It is alleged that in February, 1923, Ilokna Marton, a woman professor of music in a Government School, was forbidden to present music pieces in the Church.

24. Mrs. Denes Molnar of Kezdivasarhely, was

20. The prefect of the district declares that he refuses to answer such absurdities.

21. The statements included under this heading, were communicated to the Delegation, by the public notary Gavril Iancso, who now gives his statements by writing, as follows: "I never told any one that a judge of Targul Secuesc, bought a fabric or another house, and that this purchaser never paid the price to the vendor, but obliged him to deliver a deed, proving the payment of the price. I repeat that I do not do such things. This cannot be true, for the simple reason that in Targul Secuesc there is no judge who has bought a fabric any where round about, which can be proved by real property registers." This statement we have by us.

22. It is not true that the schoolmaster Carol Kiss, of Targul Secuesc asked to be pensioned, and that he was asked, as a condition, to make his wife cease her activity at the women's meetings. The fact is, that although 70 years old, Mr. Kiss used his influence requesting not to be pensioned, and is serving to this day.

23. It is impossible to answer to this point, for it is not shown the place nor the country where the school-mistress lives.

24. It is true that the Subprefect refused to give Mrs. Molnar Denes a passport, on the grounds that her husband is involved in a corn fraud to a value of 900,000 lei, which he made the town of Targu Secuilor lose, when he was mayor (1918-1921).

denied a passport to Czecho-Slovakia, because her husband, Dr. Denes Molnar, was suspected of irredentism.

25. It is alleged that at Darjiu, Odorheiu District, in October, 1923, at an inn, a Magyar named Majlath and a gendarme named Uliesul-Kanyad, were drinking and quarreling, and that the gendarme killed the Magyar. It is further alleged that the gendarme was not punished, but merely transferred to the neighboring town of Porumbeni-Mare.

25. The complaint is obscure, as the names of the person and the names of the communes are mixed up. The fact is this: the chief of the gendarmes station, Majlat, shot the citizen Eugen Papp in the commune of Uliesul, being in a state of legitimate defence. The man died. The case is pending before the Martial Court.

SECTION III

THE RIGHTS OF THE CONFSSIONAL SCHOOLS

The Commission respectfully submits that in intensity of feeling aroused and in the sense of great danger, no question in the judgment of the Minorities exceeds in importance that of the situation of their Confessional Schools. From an enormous mass of testimony, the Commission has selected only the more important considerations, which are summarized as follows:

- (1) Denial of the freedom of choice of schools.
- (2) The closing of Confessional Schools.
- (3) The Roumanization of Schools and Pupils.
- (4) Examinations and Diplomas.
- (5) Other school complaints.

1. DENIAL OF THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE OF SCHOOLS

Decrees 100088 and 100090-1923 of the Ministry of Public Instruction forbid pupils to attend the schools of another Minority denomination than that to which their parents belong. The Commission is informed that the Roumanian Government admits the right to maintain Minority Confessional Schools, but not that of joint schools of more than one denomination. The Commission respectfully submits that this prohibition is an infringement of the liberties guaranteed under Article 9 of the Treaty. It is felt by members of the Minority denominations to be a great hardship, especially as mixed marriages between members

SECTION III

1.—THE RIGHTS OF THE CONFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

First of all it is easy to see that most of the cases have been presented before the delegation with an intention of leading them astray.

1. The right in the choice of a school.

It is true that the ministerial orders No. 100088 and 100099-1923 regulates the scholar principles in the following manner, namely: each pupil must either go to the school belonging to his own religion, or to a State school. The Roumanian Government, in a wish of doing away with the struggles between the different religions and sects, gave each religion the right of establishing its own school, for the very reason that the education received in those schools is in concordance with the principles of the various sects, which all differ from one another, was obliged to lay down that only pupils of the respective religion, should go to each school.

The Roumanian State keeps up everywhere State schools, in which the teaching is carried on in the language of the minority, to which, religious principles being excluded, pupils of all religions may go. In some cases, there being in the locality no State school, and only one church school, the Ministry has disposed that pupils of any religion may go to that school. In case of mixed marriages, the parents may make a

of different denominations give rise to a desire to attend the school of a parent or grandparent who was a member of another denomination. Further, the Commission respectfully submits that to restrict the choice of schools, as implied by these regulations, is, in effect, an infringement of the entire freedom guaranteed under the Treaty, and enjoyed by the citizens of all free countries.

The following cases of hardship are alleged:—

- (a) At Mujna, Odorheiu District, Unitarian children have been forced to attend the State school. Their parents wish them to attend the Reformed school.
- (b) At Aita Mare, Trei Scaune District, children of Reformed Church parents have been forced to attend the State School. Their parents wish them to attend the Unitarian School.

choice of the school. The limiting the activity of each Church School to the pupils of that religion does not constitute an attempt against liberty, and is simply a step taken in order to prevent competition between the different schools. The disposition is not contrary to article 9 of the treaty, for the Roumanian State, in reality defends each religion against the attempts of the other.

The appeal "*to all free States*" is not seasonable, as neither Italy nor France, do not allow church schools, to give degrees having a State value, whereas Roumania accords them the same rights as the State Schools.

The cases quoted are the following:

(a) At Mujna in the district of Odorhei before 1918, there was only a State School. The reformed religion established in 1918 a Church School. There was no objection raised as long as reformed pupils were brought up there. For pupils belonging to other religions, the Roumanian Government keeps up a State School, where the teaching is carried on in the Maghiar language. Now pupils of all religions went to this school until 1918. The school has remained the same, the teacher likewise.—Why is this school not good to-day, when the teaching is still in the Maghiar language.

(b) At Aita Mare the case is the same as at Mujna Mare. No objection was raised against the Unitarian school, for the Unitarian pupils. For the

- (c) At Arad, the Unitarian parents of children attending the Roman Catholic School became Roman Catholic in January, 1924, to preserve their right to send their children to this school, as no other school in Hungarian language exists in Arad.
- (d) At Discio Sanmartin, Tarnava District, the Reformed Secondary School, built 1919, had 240 scholars in 1923; under the above rule expelling other denominations, only 110 attend this year. There is no Hungarian section in the Scuola Media de Stat.

other pupils the State keeps up a Hungarian school with three Hungarian teachers.

(c) At Arad the statement that Unitarian parents became Catholics, only for their children to go to the Catholic High School, which is the only Hungarian school, is too vague to be controlled. It is not true that at Arad, the Romano-Catholic High School, which is the only Maghiar speaking High School, for the State keeps up one Maghiar high school for boys, and one for girls; and besides this there has been maintained a Maghiar section at the State High School. It was impossible for pupils to attend this section on account of the propaganda carried on against the Roumanian State which made the Hungarian pupils keep aloof from the State school. Therefore the Government was obliged gradually to suppress this section. Besides the Unitarian parents had the right, by law, to club together and found a unitary school, and the Roumanian Government cannot be held responsible for the lack of initiative of these Unitarian parents who preferred to change their religion. What is more, this denial of their faith, would be the strongest proof that the chief preoccupation of these members of minorities was not to defend their religion, but rather political schemes, easier to keep up by means of the private schools, than in the State schools, though they be in the language of the minority.

(d) At Dicio Sanmartin the fact that a reformed school is created for a number of 240 pupils, out of which only 110 belong to the reformed religion shows

- (e) At Cluj, 28 boys of non-Unitarian parents were expelled from the Lyceul Initar under this rule.
- (f) At Adamos, Tarnava District, the Confessional School was closed by Ministerial order, on the ground that it was used as a joint school for Reformed and Unitarian children.

in a most striking manner, the abnormal state of affairs created in Transylvania by the Hungarians. What right have they, we should like to know, to bring up in the spirit of the reformed religion, the 130 pupils belonging to another religion?

The state school carries on no religious propaganda and is open to all children, without any distinction.

If there is no Maghiar section in the State middle schools, this is not our fault, but the fault of the Hungarians. Before 1918, there was here only one Hungarian speaking State school, where also Roumanians were obliged to learn. The Roumanian rule wished to keep up two sections, one for Roumanians and one for Hungarians. The Hungarian teachers denied their oath, and would not serve the Government. One of the schoolmistresses being the wife of the reformed priest, the dissident teachers established a new school in the reformed priest's residence, on a footing which could not be allowed, the school being created, more for giving a situation to the staff, opposed to the Roumanian State, than in a cultural object.

(e) At Cluj 28 boys from the Unitarian high school, were sent each to the church school of their religion, each religion having its own school, whose object otherwise could not be explained.

(f) At Adamos in the district of Tarnava, the Reformed school created in 1918, without a legal license, on a defective educational footing, wanted to work with pupils of different religions as a universal religion school. Now such a school according to the

2. THE CLOSING OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

- (a) It is alleged that many schools have been closed by Ministerial order, without any explanation being given:—Order No. 90.127—1923 of the Ministry of Instruction closed the following schools of the Reformed Church and annulled the right of the Church to maintain schools in those villages:—Eresteghiu, Macsa, Deius, Marcusa, Albis, Cernatul de Sus, Cernatul de Jos, Zabala, Covasna, Pachia, Brates, Tufalau, Bitu, Retiu, and Sf. Gheorghe.

treaties is kept up on an excellent footing by the State, and at a great expense.

2.—THE CLOSING OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Roumania taking up the management of affairs in Transylvania, took up also all the rights and the liabilities of the Hungarian State. Wherever she found a State School, she took it up and gave proper care to its working. Differing from the Maghiar State which built only Hungarian State Schools, the Roumanian State followed an equitable course, introducing the language of the inhabitants as the language for teaching in the State Schools. Where there were inhabitants speaking different languages, it created sections for each language. The teachers existing under the Hungarian rule, were maintained in their positions, under the condition of swearing allegiance to the new State, and put aside only those who were unwilling.

The church schools were allowed to go on as before.

Now to be fair we must allow that the Unitarian, the Reformed and the Catholic Hungarian religious did not receive the political changes with a peaceful conscience.

Partly in order to move the pupils out of the conciliating influence of the Maghiar speaking State School education, partly in order to find situations for the teachers who had refused the oath towards the state, the minorities created after 1918 a series of new schools, in absolutely inadmissible circumstances and conditions. These schools, or rather "counter-schools" as regards the State, were totally wanting in

educational material, had no proper buildings, and worked in the priest's room, in kitchens, sheds, etc. The language of the State was not taught in these schools, nor the History nor the Geography of the country, but Hungarian History and Geography was taught, and the education was carried on in a Hungarian irredentist spirit.

A few figures will show the situation: in 1918, the last year of the Hungarian rule, there were in Ardeal 322 reformed lower schools, and 26 unitary; in 1920 the number was doubled to 641 reformed schools, and 49 unitary. That is 319 new reformed schools and 23 Unitarian schools were created.

We can sum up the spirit of these minorities, by a formal statement made by Bishop Nagy Caroly, in 1922, to Mr. Kolban the Secretary of the Society of Nations: "We need no State Schools and do not recognize them as our schools."

Under this light it will be easy to understand the following cases, of closing of schools which have been brought under our notice.

(a) The case of the 15 schools, which were closed in the district of Trei Scaune is quite different to the manner it was laid before the Delegation. The investigations prove that these schools, instead of being used for educational purposes, fomented agitation amongst the inhabitants. They were lodged in most unfit quarters,—in the bellringer's room, or in peasants' houses which were extremely unhealthy. It was a duty towards humanity, to put a stop to this disorder.

- (b) It is alleged that fifty other schools of the Reformed Church have also been closed for various reasons. The Hungarian names of the villages are given, as the official names are not known. The number of the Ministerial Order closing the school is given where available:—

Sofalva, 81393–1923.

Liznyo, 131698–1923.

In all these communes it is to be clearly noted, that there are well organized State Schools where teaching is carried on in Hungarian.

(b) It is true that these 50 schools were closed. But the closing was not only ordered on serious grounds, but was also indispensable. Near by all of them were schools, insufficiently lodged, lacking completely the most elementary school material, and so unhygienical that they endangered the children's healths. Here also there had been well organized and hygienical Hungarian State Schools, which on account of the propaganda against the State, were empty. Now the Roumanian State makes a sacrifice of 195 millions in its budget, for the minority schools, and cannot allow spurious institutions to lower the level of education in the country. No school was closed without preliminary notice being given according to the Hungarian laws which are in existence to this day in Ardeal.

Sofalva.....81398-923. Somfalau district of Bistrita-Nasaud.....inhabitants—Roumanians 284, Hungarians 434, Germans 11; Jews 15. A 3rd notice was given,—Therefore the school is closed, as it does not answer the requirements of the existing laws. The State keeps up a Maghiar section for the Hungarians.

Liznyo No. 131698-923. Lisnau, district of Trei Scaune.....inhabitants—Roumanians 399,—Hungarians 469,—Jews 4. Reformed school established

Homorodszymarton, 10168–1923.

Nezokapsus, 154547–1923.

Szilagykovesd, 1934–1923.

after 1919, lodged improperly—educational material null—had only 12 pupils in all the classes put together. Teacher's salary not fixed. Whereas the State keeps up a good Hungarian State School, with eminent Hungarian teachers.

Homorodszly-Martón 10168-923—Homorod San Martin or Martinus, district of Odorhei—inhabitants—Roumanians 4; Hungarians 844,—Germans 1,—Jews 17—others 9. Since the Hungarian rule, there exists here a State school with two teachers which is still going on, in the same way with the same teachers and in the Hungarian language. The reformed priest, an irredentist Hungarian, established in 1919, a reformed church school, without a school house or any educational material. At the inspection non observance of the laws was proved, the teacher was not paid according to law.

Nezokapsus . . . 154547-1923 Capusul de Campie, district of Turda-Aries inhabitants: Roumanians 958, Hungarians 235, Jews 11. The school house does not answer its purpose, in furniture, educational material, etc. Five or six priests, have followed one after the other as teachers, who choose any time to leave their duties. A Hungarian State School has been created.

Szilagy-Kovesd 1934-1923. Chiesd,—district of Salaj inhabitants: Roumanians 1328,—Hungarians 175,—Jews 33. There were no pupils, only about 10-15. Schoolhouse unfit. The reformed pupils attend the State School, Maghiar section.

Zsibo, 122.184—1923.

Nagysarmas, 85—1922.

Bald, 154563—1923.

Sotyor, 1327—1923.

Kalotaszentkiraly, 3725—1923.

Zsibo 122184-1923. Sibou. District of Salas—inhabitants: Rouamnians 532,—Hungarians 2077,—Germans 4,—Jews 369,—others 3. Same as at Chiesd.

Nagy Sarmas 85-923—Sarmasul Mare, District of Cozjocna—population: Roumanians 821,—Hungarians 1457,—Germans, 7,—Jews 84,—others. Has a State School with a Roumanian and a Maghiar section, each having three teachers. The church school was closed after an inspection, the provisions of the law not being respected.

Bald 154563-923. Balda, district of Cojocna—population: Roumanians 660, Hungarians 90, Jews 10,—Worked without a proper license in an unhygienic school house with no furniture.

Sotior 1327-923. By this name is probably meant the commune of Coseni, district of Trei Scaune, with 453 Maghiar inhabitants. There are 44 school children. It is a State School in the Maghiar language. Notwithstanding the Consistory of Cluj ordered a church school to be established. Out of eighty families only eight inhabitants were in favor of a church school, the others were for the State school.

Kalokaszens-Kiraly 3724-923. Zam-Sancreain, in the district of Cojonca: Roumanians 303,—Hungarians 746,—Germans 1,—Jews 36.—There is a State School with one Roumanian and three Hungarian teachers. The church school was closed by the ruling authorities, for hygienic reasons.

Mihalyfalva.

Magyarfrata, oral order.

Saromberke, 140219—1923.

Pancelosch, 140211—1923.

Doboka, 140211—1923.

Nyires, 6364—1921.

Valea lui Mihai, in the district of Bihor. The statement that the church school was closed is not true, it is still going on at this moment, with four Hungarian teachers.

Maghiar Frata verbal order.—Frata, district of Cojocna, Roumanians 2148,—Hungarians 201,—Jews 70,—others 2. The school house does not answer to hygiene requirements, but a magyar section is formed at the State lower school. Closed by the ruling authorities on the demand of the sanitary service.

Saromberke 14219-923. — Sarombarc or Dumbravioara, in the district of Mures-Turda.—Roumanians 28,—Hungarians 988,—others 1. The school has no house, nor educational material, and has not complied with the orders of the Ministry. Here there exists also a State lower school in the magyar language.

Pancelose 140211-923. Panticen, district of Solnoc-Dobaca; Roumanians 992;—Hungarians 201,—Jews 69. As children belonging to other religions were admitted, and there is no schoolhouse, the lessons take place in the church.

Dobaka 143211-923. Dobaca, district of Solnoc Dobaca. Roumanians 1216,—Hungarians 54,—Germans 1,—Jews 13,—others 21.—Having no school house, the lessons took place in a room in the priest's residence.

Nyires 6364-923. Nires, district of Solnoc-Dobâca.—Roumanians 492,—Hungarians 779,—Jews 33.

Olasztelek.

Adamos.

Magyarokereke.

Katona.

The school is in a stable. It has no license. There is a Hungarian section with two teachers.

Adamos-Olasztelek.—Tilighioara, district of Odorheiu. Roumanians 21, — Hungarians 760. — Since the time of the Hungarian rule, there was here only a State school. The Roumanian Government has kept it on the same footing, and teaching in the Maghiar language. Nevertheless the reformed religion has founded a reformed church school, without a suitable school house. They did not comply with the requirements of the law. At an inspection, much disorder was found, and it was closed after three warnings.

Adamos.—Adamos, district of Tarnava Mica. —Roumanians 573,—Hungarians 1154,—Germans 9,—Jews 74,—others 5.—The State keeps up a State school in Maghiar language, on the same footing, and with the same teachers and school house as under the Hungarians. Nevertheless the reformed religion has founded a new Church school, without a suitable school house. At the inspection it was found that besides having no school house and no educational material, that no Geography of the country was taught.

Magyarokereke.—Mueran, district of Cojocna. —Roumanians 434,—Hungarians 275.—There is no school house, or license.

Katona. — Catina, district of Cojocna. — Roumanians 1307,—Hungarians 383,—Germans 2,—Jews,—others 63.—The school was not closed;—after

Anzonynepe.

Septer.

Mezoszakal.

Banffyhunya, 818-1919.

Kisbaczon, 9033-1923.

the report No. 18-1924, dated May 5th, sent in by the reformed Priest, it still continues to work.

Anzonynepe.—Asini, district of Alba de jos—Roumanians 438,—Hungarians 80,—Jews 4.—The reformed Church school was created in 1921, without a license. Only eight children attended. There was no school house or educational material. It was closed as having no reason to exist.

Septer.—Sopter, district of Cojocna—Roumanians 329,—Hungarians 111,—Germans 1, Jews 10.—No school house, no pupils.

Mezosacal......Sacalul de Campie, district of Turda-Aries—Roumanians 1074,—Hungarians 158,—Jews 35.—Has no license, and has a clandestine school.

Banfyhuniad......818-919—Huedin, district of Cojocna,—Roumanians 512,—Hungarians 3183,—Germans 51,—Jews 260,—others 964.—School house unhealthy. A State School with five teachers in the Roumanian section and six in the Maghiar section.

Kisbaczon......9033-923.—Batani mici, district of Odorheiu.—Roumanians 37,—Hungarians 641. Here there is a State School in the Maghiar language. The reformed religion priest is an irredentist, he opened a reformed church school in very bad conditions, in a room without air or light. In the School reigns a hostile spirit towards the State, there was a map in which even places in the old kingdom were marked as Maghiarized. The Priest excited his coun-

Sgamosfalva, 127687-1923.

Szilagysomlyó, 58912-1923.

Valásfut, 67058-1923.

Aranyospolyán, 150904-1923.

Beresztelke, 171295-1923.

Oezfalva, 10277-1923.

trymen against the State school, telling them that only in the church school they can turn out decent men.

Szamosfalva 127687-923.—Somesfalau, district of Cojocna—Roumanians 1370,—Hungarians 585,—Germans 2,—Jews 5,—others 2.—Unhealthy school house without necessary items.

Szilagysomlyo 58912-923—Simleul Silvaniei, district of Salaj.—Roumanians 1792,—Hungarians 3441,—Germans 33,—Jews 1580,—others 75. A school without pupils, or license. An unfit building. The reformed religion pupils attend the State School in Maghiar.

Valaszut 67058-923.—Valasul, district of Cojacna—Roumanians 7941,—Hungarians 554,—Germans 5,—Jews 25.—The school does not satisfy the existing laws. The building is insufficient and unhealthy. There is also a Maghiar section.

Aranyospolyan 150904-923.—Poiana de Ar-yies, district of Turda-Aries—Roumanians 385,—Hungarians 648,—Jews 3,—others 170.—The school has no license. There is a Maghiar section with two teachers.

Beresztelke 171295-923. — Breaza, district of Mures-Turda — Roumanians 376, — Hungarians 817,—Jews 6.—There is a State school with a Roumanian section with one teacher, and a Hungarian section with two teachers.

Oezfalva 10277-923.—This name is not known. Not having the correct name, we cannot give any information.

Szacsva.

Magyarnemegye, 69663-1923.

Nyarszo, 1923-January 5th.

Balazsfalva, 128797-1923.

Mocs, 36039-1924.

Szacsva Saciava, Trei-Scaune.—Hungarians 271, the others speaking other languages. There are altogether 35 schoolchildren. The State has since the time of the Hungarians, a Hungarian school. The church until 1923 had no school. The population does not desire a Church school, only the bishopric urges its being established.

Magyarnemegye 69663-923.—Nimigea Ungureasca, district of Bistrita-Nasaud—inhabitants: Roumanians 357,—Hungarians 913, German 1,—Jews 219.—There is no schoolmaster. The school ceased working of its own accord. There is also a Maghiar State School.

Nyarszo 1923 Jan. 5th—Nearsova, district of Cojocna,—inhabitants: Roumanians 143,—Hungarians 283,—others 2.—Has no school house had no license. They changed the village school into a church school, without any proper sanction. And no steps were taken, except to put things back into their former condition.

Balazsfalva 128797-923.—Blaj, district of Alba de jos.—inhabitants: Roumanians 1351,—Hungarians 201,—Germans 68,—Jews 188,—others 13;—there is a Maghiar section at the State school, with two teachers, notwithstanding the reformed religion population established a new school in a public house, which could not be allowed.

Mocs 36039-924.—Mocin, district of Cojacna,—inhabitants: Roumanians 1663,—Hungarians 622,—Germans 5,—Jews 163,—others 39.—Sanitary

Nagysomkut, 100088–1923.

Kokos, 1923–November 2nd.

Kilyen, 16964–1924.

Bogartelke, 154553–1923.

considerations on the report of the schools' doctor. There is a Maghiar section at the State lower school.

Nagy Somcut. 100688-923.—Somcuta Mare, Satmar, inhabitants: Roumanians 1667,—Hungarians 462,—Germans 21,—Jews 858,—others 5.—This school was closed last year, for the reason that it had no school house; it was lodged in the priest's residence with 10 pupils, and had no license. At present the children attend the State school with a Maghiar section.

Kokos. 1923 Nov. 2nd. The name being wrong, whether Szekelykakast or Gorgenykakas is meant here, nothing can be definitely stated. If the village Kokos (Chichis) in the district of Trei Scaune is meant, here there are 375 Roumanians, 830 Maghiars. There is a Maghiar State School very well organized, which can take in all the reformed religion pupils. The reformed religion created a church school, which got on very badly. There is also a Unitarian school in very bad condition.

Kylien. 16964-924.—Chileni, district of Trei Scaune; inhabitants: Roumanians 27,—Hungarians 519,—Germans 7. As there exists in the commune a State school with teaching in Hungarian, the reform religion inhabitants wanted to shake off the obligation of keeping up a church school imposed on them by the Bishopric. As the inhabitants had no care to keep it up, the State authorities were forced to close it.

Bogartelke. 154553-923.—Bagara, district of Cojocna;—inhabitants: Roumanians 43; Hungarians

Kolozskara, 65056-1923.

Bardoez, 9031-1923.

Nagyborosnyo, Nov. 16, 1923.

Olakujfalu, 70782-1923.

Uzdiszentpeter.

574,—Germans 2,—Jews 7. The school was opened without the legal formalities being fulfilled,—the school room is not healthy; while the teacher I. Nagy engaged by the church, has not taken the oath of allegiance to the Roumanian State. There is a State school in the Maghiar language, and no Roumanian school.

Kolozskara.65056-923.—Cara, district Cojocna,—inhabitants:—Roumanians 855,—Hungarians 307. No license, no school house, no school material; there is a teacher who is a priest. There is also a State school in Maghiar language.

Bardoez.9031-923.—Bardesti, in the district of Mures-Turda,—inhabitants: Roumanians 382,—Hungarians. There are no Hungarian pupils in the commune. Neither was there ever a Hungarian church school, or if there was, it was clandestine.

Nagyborosnyo.Nov. 16th, 1923.—Borosmcu Mare, in the district of Trei Scaune—inhabitants: Roumanians 14,—Hungarians 1371,—Jews 53. The population and the priest himself have given up the church school, where there were only 19 pupils, as there is in the village a capital State School in the Maghiar language, and which satisfies sufficiently all educational purposes.

Olaszkujfalu.70782-923.—There are eight communes with this name so that we cannot tell which is meant.

Ozdiszenpeter.Sanpetru de Câmpie in the district of Cojocna; inhabitants: Roumanians 832,—Hungarians 201,—Germans 2,—Jews 33,—others 276.

Ture, 151442.

Kozeplak, 27-1924.

Teke, 99732-1923.

Brad, 8038-1924.

Under the Hungarians there was a State school. The church did not apply for leave to open a church school here, as there was not a sufficient number of Hungarian pupils for this.

Ture 151442—Turea in the district of Cojocna,—inhabitants: Roumanians 285,—Hungarians 519,—Jews 12,—others 13. On the reformed priest's initiative, a counter-school to the State school in the Maghiar language was established, and agitation was fomented against the State. There is there also a Hungarian State School of the reformed religion.

Kozeplak 27-924—Cuzaplac, in the district of Cojocna,—inhabitants: Roumanians 305,—Hungarians 469,—Jews 23. Was opened clandestinely. There was no schoolmaster, but a propaganda was carried on against the State school, so that the children went neither to one school nor the other.—There is also a Hungarian State school.

Teke 99732-923—Teaca, district of Cojocna,—inhabitants: Roumanians 721,—Hungarians 609,—Germans 961,—Jews 154,—others 211;—The Maghiar section at the State school was opened, after the church school closed of itself, having no school house. Even the former teacher at the church school, was appointed to the State School, at the request of the Priest.

Arad 8638-924—Brad, district of Hunidioara;—inhabitants: Roumanians 2914,—Hungarians 464,—Germans 85,—Jews 99,—others 31;—The reformed religion school was lodged in a cemented floor-

Kisilye, 146459-1923.

- (c) The reasons given by the Ministerial Orders closing the schools are as follows, and suggest that an excuse for closing the schools is sought:—
- a.* Teaching unsatisfactory. *b.* History, Geography, Constitution and Language of Roumania were not taught. *c.* Incomplete school equipment. *d.* Textbooks used not sanctioned by the minister. *e.* The obligatory programme of the government was not followed. *f.* The school had not Government permission to work. *g.* The teachers did not take the official oath. *h.* The class rooms were dark, small, or unhealthy. *i.* The diary was not made in Roumania. *j.* There were enrolled pupils of other denominations. *k.* The school had no flag. *l.* The school worked in an unpatriotic way.
- (d) Many school buildings, the property of the Minority churches have been taken over by the Roumanian State, on the ground that they were previously leased to the former Hungarian Government. The Minority churches urge that these leases were in many cases definitely worded that the schools should be maintained in Hungarian language. The Commission has verified this clause in the contracts concerning the Unitarian schools of Belini, Cornesti, and Suat. The Commission is informed that similar clauses exist

ing room, and had only 15 pupils. At the inspection children were found shivering with cold in this improper schoolhouse. The State school is well organized, having a Maghiar section.

Kyslie. 146459-923—Flioara, district of Mures-Turda,—inhabitants: Roumanians 90, Hungarians 251;—Does not satisfy the requirements provided by law. Works openly in an antipatriotic direction; has no special license for working. The teaching goes on in this church, lacking a school house. The school master does not speak Roumanian.

We must add that in all the Secui communes, there is a State School where teaching is carried on in Hungarian.

(c) The considerations set forth herein for closing the schools, are all real, well founded and proved by investigations made by the inspectors. We cannot conceive how the word "pretext for closing" can be applied to the circumstance of not having a proper schoolroom, of not using schoolbook sanctioned by the Ministry, of not teaching in the language of the State, of not respecting the ministerial programme, and of working in a hostile spirit against the State.

(d) It is true that the Roumanian State took possession of all the school buildings which had been in the possession of the Hungarian State, both those which belonged to the Hungarian State, as well as those which were hired, the latter being in great number, and the leases generally for 25 years.

in the contracts with other Minority churches. It is alleged that the Roumanian Government ignores the terms of these school contracts.

- (e) It is alleged that no less than 130 school buildings owned by the Reformed Church have been taken over by the Roumanian State, which ignores the terms of the contracts, without compensation and against the repeated protests of the Church.
- (f) It is alleged that the Unitarian Elementary Schools at Trascau and at Trascausangeorgiu, Turda-Aries District, and at Avramesti, Cristur District, have been closed by Ministerial order after working under Roumanian rule for four years.
- (g) It is alleged that 16 Roman Catholic primary schools were closed in the year 1923-4, and that the Roman Catholic Middle School at Sigisoara was closed compulsorily in 1922.

The Roumanian Government took up all these contracts, with all the rights and liabilities attached to them, and it is not true that it did not respect them. There, where there is a clause for teaching in Hungarian, the Roumanian government keeps up Hungarian sections in proportion with the number of Hungarian pupils; but these contracts agreed with the Hungarian Government, cannot hinder the Roumanian State from keeping up also a Roumanian section, parallel with the Maghiar section, for the Roumanian population. What is more the Roumanian Government respects the clauses of the contract even where they stipulate that the schoolmaster be a reformed, or unitary church Hungarian, so as to fulfill the duty of chanter in church. Here however the teachers meet difficulties on the part of the churches, which dismiss from their service as chanters, the schoolmasters who have taken the oath of allegiance to the Roumanian State.

(e) An identical answer as to the preceding case.

(f) The Trascau, and Trascau Sangiorgiu schools were closed, because the teaching was carried on in an irredentistical spirit. Geographies have been confiscated, as being arranged in Hungary for that object. They had no school houses nor licenses. In the communes there are State schools with Maghiar sections and Maghiar teachers.—Avramesti is in the same case.

(g) The information concerning the 16 Romano-Catholic schools is too vague to be properly answered. Perhaps it alludes to the 16 Romano-Catholic schools

- (h) It is alleged that the Roman Catholic Gymnasium at Satmar was purchased by the Bishop from the Hungarian State in 1913, and the whole price paid. The Ministry of Instruction took over this building in 1919 without payment and now uses it as a Girls' School, with a Roumanian Orthodox Chapel.

in Secui, intended to be closed if they did not improve their situation, but which so far have not been closed.

The case of the civil school of Sighisoara is typical. Here are two Romano-Catholic schools having four classes for boys and four for girls, that is, all together, eight classes which only had two rooms for all of them, was created, in opposition to the State school. Lessons were given to two classes at a time, in the same room, which is a pedagogical nonsense. For all the eight classes, there were three masters and two teachers, that is five in all. The pupils numbered 60 girls and 35 boys, of which only half were Catholics.

The best proof that this school was not closed forcibly, as is stated in the memorandum, is the fact that it goes on working to the present day.

(h) The building called the Romano-Catholic high school of Satmar, was the property of the Maghiar State. It is true that in the year 1919 a contract was agreed upon, by which it was bought from the Hungarian government, for the Romano-Catholic Bishopric of Satmar. But the price was not paid in full, so that the sale was not final, as the Bishopric's title was not filed in the register for real property.

Now the dirigent counsel of Transylvania invalidated all the sales made with an object of conveying property from the State, consequently this sale was also invalidated. The Bishopric has the right of bringing in an action for the return of the installments paid.

The Roumanian government, in its own building settles the institutions which it considers needful.

- (i) It is alleged that in Cornesti the Hungarian children have received no teaching this year, owing to the closing of the Confessional School. A teacher of Hungarian language recommended by the Church was refused because he was ignorant of the Roumanian language.
- (j) It is alleged that over 100 children of Reformed parents at Sfantulsangiorgiu have not been able to attend school this year owing to the closing of the Confessional School, and to the lack of accommodation in the State school.
- (k) It is alleged that at Ceagz, district of Turda-Aries, the Orthodox priest took possession of the Unitarian School and of the teachers' lodging without compensation.

3. THE ROUMANIZATION OF SCHOOLS AND PUPILS.

The Commission at this point desires respectfully to submit that the members and officials of the Minority groups without exception emphatically expressed their willingness and desire to incorporate into their curricula the teaching of (1) the Roumanian language, and (2) of Roumanian History, to the end that they might become de facto members of the Roumanian State.

Believing in the sincerity of these statements, the Commission respectfully submits that the protest against the multiform interference with the Confessional Schools is not to be interpreted as resistance to

(i) It is true that at the State lower school in Cornesti, last year there was no teacher. Steps have now been taken for the place to be occupied by a competent teacher.

The teacher mentioned in the memorandum could not be accepted, as he was called upon to teach in the Roumanian language, of which he was ignorant.

(j) In Sfântul Gheorghe the children did not remain without a school, as the State owns there a very roomy school house, where, last year, were employed ten teachers, giving lessons in the Maghiar language. The assertion that the pupils remained without a school is therefore unfounded.—As for the church school, the house it occupied was out of the question.

(k) The case of Ceags, in the district of Turda-Aries, was looked into, and as soon as the Department ascertained that an abuse had been committed by the priest, it ordered the building to be returned to the unitary church.

3. THE ROUMANIZATION OF THE SCHOOLS AND PUPILS.

The Roumanian State is glad to receive any proof of loyalty from any member of the educationary staff of the minorities, and was pleased that the Delegation had the occasion of hearing such confessions from them, but considering the facts in their true light, the Roumanian Government is sorry to be obliged to say that, in fact, very few of the minority teachers have

the acquirement, within a reasonable period of time, of knowledge of the Roumanian language and history.

- (a) It is alleged that the decree No. 36210-1924 of the Ministry of Instructions, which orders the substitution of German-Roumanian for Hungarian language in the Lutheran School at Cluj, is deliberately planned to Roumanize this school. In 1923-4 the scholars numbered 211, of whom 194 were of Hungarian language.
- (b) It is alleged that the Ministerial order to remove a marble tablet placed in 1901 in the Entrance Hall of the Lyceul Unitar at Cluj, on the ground of its inscription in the Hungarian language is as an act contrary to the spirit of the Treaty.
- (c) It is alleged that members of Minority denominations who hold any public office are compelled by fear of dismissal to send their children to the State schools, thus depriving their children of the special education provided by the Confessional Schools.

given any proof of wishing to acquire any knowledge of the Roumanian language.

We can assure that the Roumanian State makes all due allowances in consideration of the difficulty and the time necessary for the studying of the language, but could not admit ill-will.

(a) The introduction of the German language in lieu of Maghiar for teaching in the Lutheran school of Cluj is owing to the wish of the congregation of that church, and to the influence used by the Lutheran evangelic consistory of Sibiu, in consideration that the churchmen of that parish are Germans, prone to be Maghiarized, under the Hungarian sway. The pupils are also of German origin, though presented by their priest Kirchnopf (a German renegade who found a new country in Hungary) as Hungarians.

What interest could the Roumanian State have for substituting the German language to the Hungarian?

(b) The marble slab on the frontispiece of the unitary high school of Cluj was not taken down because the text was not written in Roumanian, but because it represented only the images of certain Maghiar authorities, whereas in the whole school there was not a single board on which was represented the image or the name of a Roumanian.

(c) The accusation is too vague;—The name of the State officials on whom pressure was used in the choice of a school for their children, should be mentioned.—It is a reminiscence from the days of the

- (d) It is alleged that at Diciosanmartin, Tarnava District and at Cracunel, Odorheiu District, many Hungarian parents are compelled by orders of Revisor to send their children to Roumanian sections of State schools. This is stated to be frequent in the case of people of the Minority denominations who have Roumanian names, and with those of Gipsy origin.
- (e) In Cracunel, it is alleged that parents have been fined sums of 30-300 lei for not complying with this order. Certain parents are sending their children to distant villages to escape these alleged attempts at Roumanization.
- (f) It is alleged that on December 29th, 1923, the Directress of the Normal School in Oradea-Mare requested the Unitarian Bishop to arrange for the religious instruction of a girl named Eliza Szekely, a student of the school. An elder of the Church was appointed to give this instruction, but was not allowed by the Directress to proceed, owing to the fact that he could not give the instruction in the Roumanian language. This decision was upheld by the Minister of Education in spite of the protest of the Bishop. Permission was granted for the student to receive religious instruction in her family.

Hungarian sway, when this system was practiced. The Roumanian State would be loath to use such means.

(d) In Dicio Sanmartin and in Craciunel, the Hungarians were not obliged to send their children to the State schools, but only the children of the Roumanians, of a well proven Roumanian origin, but whose names had evidently been Maghiarized, were directed to the State schools.

The Roumanian State considers that it is its right to bring back to their stock those Roumanians who have been alienated by the Hungarians.

As regards the alleged attempts to Roumanize the Hungarians, they were never made, nor will they ever be made, since the Roumanians, who have been for centuries the victims of the attempts for Maghiarizing the Hungarians, realizes better than any other nation, the uselessness of such a method of ruling which does not produce any other effect but provocation and irredentism.

(e) At Craciunel some parents were fined, not because they did not send their children to the State school, but because they did not send them to school at all; the fine was fixed, according to the existing laws by the Communal Counsel which, to prove the tolerance of Roumania, is composed only of Hungarians.

(f) At Oradia Mare, the normal girls school, the lessons are in the Roumanian language; but no one prevents religious education beyond the precincts of the school, being given in any other language.

- (g) It is alleged that in June, 1923, Sub-revisor of schools at Odorheiu requested the minister if he could not teach religion in Roumanian in the Hungarian section of State schools.
- (h) It is alleged that at Aita Mare, Treiscaune District, Michael Roman, shoemaker, joined the Reformed Church in 1914, satisfying the requirements of the law. In 1923, his children being legally excluded from the Unitarian School, he took them to the State school. He desired them to be taught in the Hungarian section, and in the Reformed religion. The Director of the State school placed them in the Roumanian section, and prevented their receiving religious instruction from the Reformed minister.
- (i) It is alleged that at Targul-Mures the teaching of the Municipal school was changed from Hungarian to Roumanian language by the introduction of teachers from the old kingdom.
- (j) It is alleged that at Targul-Mures only boys of Roumanian language are enrolled as scholars of the Industrial School for wood and metal work.

(g) The assertion that attempts were made to give religious lessons, in a Maghiar section, in the Roumanian language, is an impossibility, as in those sections, all subjects, and consequently religion also, are taught in Hungarian. That under the Hungarian sway, the system of obliging Roumanian children to learn religion in Hungarian was practiced, we all know. But the Roumanian State shuns such means.

(h) The case of the bootmaker Mihail Roman, is one of the many examples, of Roumanians, who were obliged, especially at the beginning of the war to desert for fear of reprisals, from their faith and their nation and pass over to the Hungarians, but nobody can prevent them from following the religion they please, and bringing up their children according to their desire. If he says that he has suffered an iniquity, why does he not bring the fact before the higher authorities?

(i) The town of Targu-Mures, not being able to bear the expense of keeping up the schools, handed them over to the Roumanian State which according to the local needs, keeps up Roumanian and Maghiar sections.—In the Roumanian are employed also schoolmasters brought from the old kingdom, and we think that the State has the undisputed right of picking its officials where it thinks fit.

(j) Pupils are admitted to the professional school, on examination, and without and consideration as to nationality. It is to be remarked that the professors and the foremen of this school, are all Hungarians, except three.

- (k) It is alleged that at Turda the Girls Secondary School of the Reformed Church was taken over by the State in 1919, and the language of instruction changed to Roumanian. It is alleged that the old professors were removed, though they had taken the oath of loyalty.
- (l) Further, it is alleged that the new school of the Reformed Church at Turda is permitted only as a private school, so that its usefulness is prevented.
- (m) It is alleged that the use of the old school textbooks in Hungarian language has been prohibited, and that no new ones have been supplied.
- (n) It is alleged that many of the school libraries have been closed, and that no use of Hungarian books is allowed.
- (o) It is alleged that in Bucuresti, George Bartok, Bishop of the Reformed Church, bought land and had school buildings erected for missionary purposes. There was a larger building in Str. Sfinci Voevozi 50 si 50 bis consisting of 10 classrooms, four apartments for teachers, and one for the Dean. There was also a smaller building in Str. Sfuntu Stefan 34, or four classrooms and a Hall. The number of students in 1904-5 was 260; in 1915-6, 600. The claim of the Transylvanian Reformed Church to these buildings was denied, though they were properly acquired from the previous proprietor. But it was dealt with as the property of the Budapest Reformed Convent and

(k) It is not true that the girls' high school, belonging to the reformed church of Turda, has been taken by the State. The Roumanian State received the Turda girls' school by right of inheritance from the Maghiar State;—The former teachers were not dismissed, and after they took the oath, they received their salary for two years, without doing any duty, after which so as not to remain without any service, situations were offered them elsewhere.

(l) The reformed church, created, after 1918, a civil school for girls in Turda, which had the rights of publicity recognized by the State. But certain irregularities were discovered, propaganda manuals sent from Hungary, for which reason it was deprived of the right of issuing certificate with an official value. But in a broad spirit of leniency the school was allowed to continue further.

(m) The texts of the classical authors which existed at the Ardeal booksellers being all sold out, the General Director of the Cluj library printed a fresh stock, which he placed at the disposition of all the schools; those published abroad were not prohibited by anybody.

(n) The Hungarian libraries of the Roumanian speaking schools are not used by anybody, as there is no one to do so. The libraries of the Hungarian school are still used.

(o) The edifice of the reformed church in Bucarest was not the property of the Cluj bishopric, but of

was taken over as alien property. The consequence of this is that the Hungarian children have no opportunity of education in their own language.

4. EXAMINATIONS AND DIPLOMAS.

A vast number of complaints reached the Commission regarding the Examination System of the Ministry of Instruction as applied to both teachers and scholars. In effect it showed a widespread feeling among the Minorities that the Government is attempting to destroy the Confessional Schools by developing an examination system entirely in the Roumanian language, which disregards the Minority languages, renders futile the teaching of Minority schools, and tends to prevent their pupils from passing into the Secondary Schools.

(a) It is alleged that Ministerial order has been issued compelling all school teachers to pass an examination, not only in Roumanian language, but also in Roumanian geography, history and Constitution, whether they can teach those subjects or not.

(b) It is alleged that the expense of these examinations is a hardship, teachers having to travel in 1921 to Odorhieu, and in 1923 to Sibiu for an examination lasting two days. In preparation for examination it is alleged that a stay of some months' duration in Old Roumania was necessary, the teacher having to pay his expenses and also the wages of a substitute.

the Budapest church; it was therefore treated as foreign property, this on the basis of the international treaties.

4. EXAMINATIONS AND DEGREES.

(a) The complaints put before the Delegation, according to which the Roumanian State would be tending to paralyze education in the schools of the minorities, and to prevent the passing of the pupils belonging to the minorities into the high schools, by obliging them to pass their examinations in the Roumanian, can have no other object than to lead astray the good faith of the public.

We make it quite plain that the State had no hidden meaning: the pupils are examined in each subject, in the language they learnt it at school.

As regards the teachers and the professors, it is true that they pass their examinations on the history, the geography, and the constitution of Roumania, in the Roumanian language, otherwise one could not judge of the progress of their knowledge of Roumanian, which is the chief object of the examination.

Considering that each State has the right of claiming from their teachers, who are those who will have to form the future generations to know the language of the State, the past, the territory and the laws of the country in which they are employed as educators.

(b) The Roumanian State in its care for the public weal, has organized, in the old kingdom and in Ardeal, lectures in order to facilitate this preparation, the

- (c) It is alleged that at Uioara the Reformed Church Secondary School had in the year 1922-3, 120 students. In 1923-4 by Ministerial order the School was made private, and the pupils were ordered to take their examinations in the State school in Roumanian language. It is alleged that this order had the effect of closing the Uioara Secondary School.
- (d) It is alleged that the Order No. 58886-1924 of the Ministry of Instruction states that the Maturity Examination will be held in the Roumanian language for all subjects, though an earlier order stated that only those subjects would be examined in Roumanian which were taught in Roumanian, other subjects were to be examined in the student's own language.
- (e) It is alleged that by order of the Revisor of Odorheiu, Nestor Joachim, the children of the whole Cristur District are being compelled to pay a fee of 50 lei for examination in the Roumanian language, which examination is compulsory for all pupils.

attending which is gratuitous; what is more, gratuitous lodging and a sum necessary for food, or at any rate very important reductions have been allowed to those attending these lectures.

For the examination no tax is paid.

The series of these examinations have been held during the summer holidays, so that there was no occasion for any kind of leave.

Over two millions have been spent out the State budget expressly for helping the educational staff of the minorities on undergoing these examinations.

(c) The pupils of the Uioara reformed church high school, passed their examinations at the State school, as the said reformed school has not the right of issuing State certificates. They were examined on each subject in the language in which they learnt it. It is an untruth that the final high school examination was passed in the Roumanian language. Out of twenty subjects, only the essay, chosen by the candidate, with two hours and the help of books for preparing it, was in Roumanian. In fact, the very satisfactory success of the examination, as regards the promotion of the candidates, bring out sufficiently the broad mind in which the law was applied.

No answer is given to Allegation D.

(e) In the school district of Odorhei, it is true that in some of the schools fees of 50 lei were levied, for the final examination, but when this was brought under the notice of the leading organs, they immedi-

5. OTHER SCHOOL COMPLAINTS.

- (a) It is alleged that at Cluj, Calea Victoria No. 10, a building belonging to the Unitarian Church, and used as a Unitarian Girls Home, has been requisitioned for the use of the State Railway; that the first floor is used for Railway Offices, and the second for Railway Officials' lodgings; and that the C. F. R. pays an annual rental of 35,000 lei, which is about one fifth only of the present rental value of the premises occupied. The accommodation is urgently needed for the Girls Home. Repeated appeals have been sent to the proper Government Officials, but without effect. In the meantime the Girls Home has been housed in a small part of the adjacent Unitarian Theological College, to the great inconvenience alike of the College and of the girls. The accommodation in the College is entirely inadequate, but is all that the Unitarian Church can give. The Ministry of Instruction has now notified the Unitarian authorities that, as the accommodation is insufficient, the Home will not be permitted to occupy the space in the College building beyond the end of 1924. The Commission respectfully points out that a building long used for educational purposes has been requisitioned and at merely a nominal rental by the State, to the great detriment of the Unitarian young women, and that the best arrangements which the Unitarian authorities are able to make are now condemned by the State, and the

ately prohibited the levy while the money paid was partly returned, and when that was not feasible it was paid into the fund for school buildings.

5. OTHER COMPLAINTS ABOUT SCHOOL.

(a) The complaints sent in to the Delegation only lead to mystification. The Unitarian school possesses in Cluj a splendid school building. In it is lodged the theological seminary, the high school, and a girls' school. That this edifice is insufficient, and that the Ministry found it so, is not true. This edifice is so beautiful that beside the University, the State itself does not possess another like it. Next to it and separated only by the church and a street, is situated the old building of the College. It was requisitioned for a time, owing to the crisis on lodgings. Now the school for girls is in the large building, while the scheme for lodging this school in the old building was after it was requisitioned by the railway.

Commission respectfully inquires what other conclusion can be reached, than that the Roumanian authorities intend entirely to suppress the Unitarian Girls Home. Further, the Commission respectfully submits that in itself the matter is of grave importance, constituting, if the facts are as alleged, a grave case of discrimination against a Minority institution, but which assumes a larger importance in the minds of the Minorities when it is held to be not an exceptional incident but one, the Commission is assured, that could be duplicated many times, if not exactly, yet in effect.

- (b) It is alleged as an illustration of a similar incident that the Reformed Church Secondary School for girls at Cluj, is now without a school building, their adequate building having been requisitioned and occupied by the State Railway. The Commission is informed that the Ministry of Instruction has now taken away the "Public Status" from this school on the grounds that it has no suitable building.
- (c) It is alleged, as a further illustration, that the adequate building of the Reformed Lyceum at Orastie, was requisitioned by the Government, and that the Ministry of Instruction has now taken away the "Public Status" of this school on the grounds that its present accommodation is insufficient. Since without a "Public Status" the scholars are not able to pass into a higher school, the Commission submits that the withdrawal of the

(b) The same for this case.

The reformed religion church, opened in 1920 a church school for girls in order to find a situation for the school mistresses who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the State, and who up to then had been employed at the State high school in Cluj.

The new institution began to work in a provisional manner in the afternoon hours, in the building of the reformed high school for boys.

Now the reformed church claims certain rights of property in an edifice situated in Calea Victoriei bought from the teachers' association of the district of Cojocna, a sale which was executed under the Hungarian rule, and from that time disputed for alleged informalities, by the Hungarian Department, which had not sanctioned it according to law. If this building which even today does not belong to it, the reformed church has been wanting to lodge the girls' school, making applications repeatedly for the building, which had been requisitioned for a hospital, in the time of the Hungarians, and which is still there now, to be emptied. There can therefore be no question of harming anybody's rights, as these rights do not exist.

(c) Also in the Kun College case, the D  legation has been induced into error. The reformed religion College has a beautiful new building, only the old building has been hired by the State, for the establishment of a high school. It is not exact that it has been deprived of the right of publicity on the grounds that the building is insufficient, but it was proved by several

“Public Status” works great hardship, and it is alleged to constitute discrimination. This is the only Reformed Church College in a large area mainly inhabited by Roumanian Orthodox. It is alleged that local and social enmity has brought about the ruin of the College.

The Commission refrains from expressing any opinion as to whether under the terms of the Treaty, school buildings can be requisitioned by the Roumanian Government, and the Commission refrains also from expressing any opinion as to the wisdom of the policy, which in effect impoverishes educational institutions which have been slowly endowed by years of effort. The Commission respectfully submits that housing conditions which are the direct result of the action of one Government Department cannot be fairly made to militate against the Status of Schools by another Department of the Roumanian Government.

- (d) It is alleged that at Zalau, District of Salaj, the teacher of Roumanian language in the Reformed School was discharged by order of an Inspector on the ground of his Hungarian origin.
- (e) It is also alleged at Zalau that teachers in the Reformed School were fined for using unsanctioned textbooks, although they had received official permission to use the books.
- (f) It is alleged that the Prime Praetor of Tasnad prevented the Reformed Church at Erszakacs from electing a cantor-teacher.

inspections, that the level of education had fallen so low, inasmuch that it could no longer be allowed to issue State value certificates. By the light thrown on the question, the complaints raised against the acts of the Departments fall through completely.

(d) At Zalau, Mr. Solymos, is not authorized to give Roumanian lessons, not because he is a Hungarian, but because he does not sufficiently know it.

(e) The schoolmasters of the reformed school at Zalau, were not fined for using unsanctioned school-books, but were only admonished.

(f) It was not the sub-prefect of Tasnad who prohibited the chanter-teacher in the commune of Socaciu, but there being a feud between two teachers, of which one, Wass Sandor, being dismissed unjustly, applied for the intervention of the Prime Pretor, not to allow the election to take place in the schoolhouse, until his case is looked into.

- (g) It is alleged that Reformed Church pupils in the State Secondary Schools at Uioara were allowed by the Director only one lesson weekly in religious instruction.
- (h) It is alleged that a Prefectural order was issued in Belini, District of Treiscaune, to cause a new State school building to be erected at the cost of the commune, although the present building is fully large enough to accommodate the scholars attending. It is felt that the purpose of the order is to burden the people with charges that will make their Confessional School too heavy an expense to be sustained.

(g) The pupils of the reformed religion church school at Unioara, were allowed for the religion class, one hour a week, on the basis of the general budget regulation, which provides and pays for each religion master of 20 pupils for one hour.

(h) The new school in Belini, is not being built in the village but in a hamlet at a distance of several kilometers from the commune named Valea Belinului, for the children of that hamlet. The Belini school remains for the commune.

SECTION IV

ALLEGED INSTANCES OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST
THE MINORITIES SHOWN IN THE EXPROPRIATION OR
IN THE APPORTIONMENT OF LAND

The Commission is informed that the Roumanian Law grants to Minority and Majority Churches equally 50 acres of land for each parish, and 66 acres to Churches where there is a Confessional School.

1. It is alleged that at San, Turda-Aries, the Unitarian Parish had 67 acres, from which it is alleged that eight acres were taken; but these eight acres contained the pond used for preparing the flax. Its alienation is alleged to cause hardship and to constitute discrimination. The case has been appealed; no answer has yet been given.

SECTION IV

ALLEGED INSTANCES OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST
THE MINORITIES SHOWN IN THE EXPROPRIATION OR
IN THE APPORTIONMENT OF LAND

The Department of agriculture examining carefully the complaints pointed out in paragraph 10 of the memorandum finding that several of them are identically the same, has grouped some of them together as follows, and has sent a general answer for each group.

On the carrying out of the dispositions of the agrarian law in Ardeal as regards the churches, and the institutions depending thereon the complaints arising therefrom can be summed up in the following manner.

OBJECTION

1. That the estates of the churches of the minorities, have been touched by the expropriation, be it by a partial or a total expropriation.

That appealing against the expropriation, they received no satisfaction.

That they were not treated on an equal footing as regards the complection and the endowment with church lands.

That in some places the expropriation was executed without any payment. These are points No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,

2. It is alleged that at Suplac, Tarnava District, the Unitarian Parish had only 23 acres, of which one acre was taken away. The case has been appealed; no answer has yet been given.

3. It is alleged that at Sarosulungureso, Tarnava District, the Unitarian Parish and School had 53 acres, of which 19 acres were taken away and given to the Roumanian Church.

4. It is alleged that at Cehetel, Cristur District, the Unitarian Parish and School had 52 acres, of which 22 acres were taken away. The case was appealed 1923, April 12th; no answer has yet been given.

5. It is alleged that at Tarcesti, Cristur District, the Unitarian Parish had 150 acres, from which 128 acres were taken away. The case has been appealed; no answer has yet been given.

20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 41 of the memorandum.

ANSWER

1. The estates of the churches and the institutions belonging to them have been subject to expropriation in pursuance of Art. 5 of the Agrarian Law. The expropriation was not total, and only partial, the areas provided under § 4 of the above mentioned agrarian law for Ardeal as allotted to them, being always respected.

All the churches in Ardeal without any distinction of religion, were subjected to this contribution. If an appeal was lodged against any of these expropriations, and no answer was received, this is owing to the fact that the operations are still pending. As soon as the decisions are taken, answers are sent.

Likewise, also on the basis of the provisions of the agrarian law, steps are taken, that, where the churches have no land (even if they belong to the minorities) they be endowed with the necessary areas of land, in the limits of possibility.

6. It is alleged that at Turdeni, Cristur District, the Unitarian Parish and School had 66 acres, from which 37 acres were taken away. The case has been appealed; no answer has yet been given.

7. It is alleged that at Aita Mare, Treiscaune District, the Unitarian Parish and School had 65 acres from which 30 acres were taken. It is further alleged that through a mistake in the records the Parish was credited with having had 72 acres. School and church are left with only 35 acres. The case was appealed December 15th, 1922; no answer has yet been given.

8. It is alleged that at Racosul de Jos, Alba de Sus District, the Community owned 170 acres, which were held for communal purposes, that of this 32 acres were given to the Roumanian Church, which has a membership of about 100 persons. It is further alleged that the Unitarian Church, having only six acres, received no more, and that the Reformed Church, having a larger membership than the Unitarian, received no more. Both churches applied. Of the remaining 138 acres of communal land all but four acres were given to Roumanians. The case has been appealed; no answer has as yet been given.

9. It is alleged that at Belini, Treiscaune District, the Unitarian Church had 46 acres of land, and that the neighboring (Roumanian) Community of Arin received 15 acres from it. The Pastor appealed to the Prefect in April, 1921. He answered that the land would be returned. The Pastor has appealed three times, the last time in September, 1923, but the land

For replies to Allegations 6, 7, 8, and 9, see page 131.

has not been returned. Meanwhile, there was received a rental per acre of 40 lei, whereas 2000 lei per acre could have been received if the land had been rented in the usual way, an estimated annual loss of about 30,000 lei.

10. It is alleged that at Brasov, Treiscaune District, the Unitarian Church, numbering about 1200 persons, in 1917 was assigned a building lot by the Hungarian State, and that the lot was confirmed to the Church by the City Council in 1922, on condition that a church edifice be erected before 1927. It is alleged that in 1924 the Prefect notified the City Council that the land could not be given to the Unitarian Church. The Council replied that no other land was available for the Unitarian Church, and that the land in question was not needed for other purposes. The Prefect replied that the land in question was wanted for a Roumanian Culture House. As no other central location can be secured, this decision if allowed to stand will work great harm to the Unitarian Church. The case was appealed to the Minister of the Interior, June 9th, 1924, No. 10450-924. No reply has yet been received.

11. It is alleged that at Dopca, Alba de Sus District, of the 13 acres owned by the Unitarian Church, two acres were taken away for house plots for Roumanians, and 1-3 acre was given to the Roumanian Church, which already possessed its full quota of 50 acres. The case was appealed December 19th, 1922. No answer has yet been received.

For reply to Allegations 10 and 11, see page 131.

12. It is alleged that at Haranglab, Tarnava District, land was being divided in and near this town, that the Reformed Church which possessed only 12 acres, and the Unitarian Church and School, which possessed 39 acres, applied for the full legal apportionment and received nothing, while Roumanians received large apportionments.

13. It is alleged that at Seuca, Tarnava District, the Unitarian Church, which possessed 14 acres, applied for its quota from land that was being divided in the adjoining village. To the Roumanian Church 42 acres were given, nothing to the Unitarian.

14. It is alleged that at Darjiu, Odorheiu District, 36 acres were taken from the Unitarian Church which possessed 70. The Church appealed for its full quota. No answer has yet been received.

15. It is alleged that at Meresti, Odorheiu District, there were taken from the Unitarian Church, which possessed 230 acres, 193 acres, leaving 37. The Church appealed for its full quota. No answer has yet been received.

16. It is alleged that at Petreni, Odorheiu District, the Unitarian Church, which possessed 24 acres, asked in March, 1921, for its quota in the division of a large estate in the adjoining village. No answer has yet been received.

17. It is alleged that in Diciosanmartin, Tarnava District, the Unitarian Church, which possessed 12 acres, asked in 1921 for its quota from land in the ad-

For replies to Allegations 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21, see page 131.

joining village. 182 acres were given to Roumanians, none to Magyars. The Church received no answer.

18. It is alleged that at Fogaras, Alba de Sus District, all the land of the Reformed Church with two ministers and school was expropriated, except 32 acres, an amount far less than its quota, and that the valuable market right also was expropriated. The case has been twice appealed. No answer has yet been received.

19. It is alleged that at Cornesti, Kolozs-doboka District, the Unitarian Church had 42 acres less than its quota, that four acres was expropriated and given to the Roumanian Church, and that no payment has been made.

20. It is alleged that at Nyaradaudrasfalva, three fourths of the land of the Reformed Church was expropriated and given to the Roumanian Church, which then sold publicly its land holdings and proceeded to occupy the land lately taken from the Reformed Church.

21. It is alleged that at Mezomadaras, the Reformed School owned 320 acres, and had 120 pupils, and that contrary to the law, 294 acres were expropriated, leaving only 26 acres and in effect ruining the School.

22. It is alleged that at Lisznyo, the Unitarian Church had 32 acres, of which 10 were taken in May, 1923, and given to the Roumanian Church, which received also 10 acres in the adjoining village, and also 10 acres in another adjoining village. And it is further

For reply to Allegations 22, 23, and 24, see page 131.

OBJECTION

2. The Bishoprics of the minorities have not been endowed with the 100 jugar quota provided by the Agrarian Law (point 26, of the memorandum).

ANSWER

2. Art. 7 of the Agrarian Law excludes from the expropriation, lands belonging to the Bishoprics, from 100 jugar upwards, providing at the same time an endowment for those which possess no land, after all those who have a right to land in the locality, have been completely satisfied.

As this operation is not yet completed, so that one cannot yet know what lands will remain available, after satisfying the above, decisions have not yet been taken in all the cases of Bishopric endowments. The matter remains open, and will be solved later in accordance with the terms of the law.

alleged that of the 248 acres of forest belonging to the Reformed Church in the same town, 218 acres were taken and divided between the Uniate and Roumanian Churches.

23. It is alleged that at Brasov, the Reformed Church had only two acres, which were expropriated and recovered only after costly litigation.

24. It is alleged that at Diciosanmartin, Deaj District, the Roman Catholic Church had 21 acres and appealed for the full quota in May, 1923, no answer being received, that the newly formed Roumanian Church received 56 acres, and that large grants of land were made to Roumanians in the neighborhood.

25. It is alleged that at Racosul de Sus, Alba de Sus District, the Unitarian Church, for its forest of old oak trees worth in the market 50,000 lei per acre, was promised 150 lei per acre, which has not yet been received.

26. It is alleged that under the Agrarian Reform Laws, provision is made to grant 100 acres of land for the support of the bishops and of the churches, including the Minority churches. It is alleged that in the expropriation of the land belonging to the Minority churches this provision has not been enforced, and that despite the fact that great areas of land have been taken from the Minority churches, the allotments of 100 acres each for the Minority bishops have not been provided. The Commission respectfully submits that if the facts are as alleged this constitutes a hardship and discrimination.

OBJECTION

3. The price fixed for the payment of the expropriated lands, is too small, and is considerably under the price fixed for the expropriations in the old kingdom (points 25, 28, 34, 43 and 44 of the memorandum).

ANSWER

3. The price is fixed according to the rules provided by Art. 50, of the Agrarian law for Ardeal, which is the same for all the landowners subject to expropriation, without any distinction of nationality or religion. The principle of the law is, to fix the price of the value of the land for the years which preceded the great war (1908-1913). The same principle rules the fixing of the price of the expropriated land, both in the old kingdom as well as in the other provinces (Banat and Bucovina). Therefore the Ardeal landowners are not worse treated in this respect.

For reply to Allegation 26, see page 139.

OBJECTION

4. The expropriated land was not distributed in an equitable manner, to all the citizens of the different nationalities. Thus 90 per cent was given to the Roumanian citizens, and barely 10 per cent to the citizens of other nationalities (point 27 of the memorandum).

ANSWER

4. The expropriated land was distributed and divided equally, to all those having a right to the same, without any distinction of nationality or religion.

27. A high official of the Roman Catholic Church stated to the Commission that of all lands in Transylvania alienated from the Roman Catholic Church 90 per cent had been apportioned to Roumanians and only 10 per cent Magyars. A detailed statement is promised, but has not yet reached the Commission.

28. It is alleged that the prices fixed by the Roumanian authorities to be paid to the Reformed Churches for expropriated lands were exceedingly low, being from 2000 to 4000 lei per acre, which sum in most cases would not equal the rent of the land for one year. It is further alleged that in the majority of cases, even where the prices were fixed, no payment had ever been made. Often, it is alleged, the losses are very heavy, as for example, in the case of Bethlen College, where it exceeded 25,000,000 lei.

29. It is alleged that in defiance of the terms of the Agrarian Law, building and lands belonging to the Reformed Church have been expropriated in the following villages:—

Chicsomihaly-Falva.

Czege.

Brad.

Nyaradszentandras.

Magyarbaksa.

Szer.

Sajoudvarhely.

Kajanto.

Galgo.

Marosszentimre.

The results obtained lead to this conclusion, since if out of 530,964 having right to land, out of which 396,342 are Roumanians and 134,352 other nationalities, 177,113 Roumanians will receive land and 64,173 different nationalities. If the number of those having a right is greater for the Roumanians, this is due to the fact that the Roumanian population is three times more numerous than the other nationalities, that their occupation is the plough and that they have never had land of their own. Before the war the Roumanian population came up to 3,316,345 inhabitants owning about 3,598,000 jugars, whereas the other nationalities numbering 1,891,000 inhabitants owned 11,283,000 jugars.

The agrarian law, calls in the first place those who work the land with their hands, and who own no land of their own, to receive the expropriated lands, and the inhabitants of Ardeal of Roumanian nationality are in this case.

For reply to Allegation 28, see page 141.

For reply to Allegations 29 and 30, see page 131.

30. The Commission respectfully submits that the Treaty guaranteed full liberty and support to all the Minority churches, together with freedom for self development. The Commission respectfully raises the question whether the alleged decision of the Roumanian Government to support only such churches as have 300 members is in accordance with the terms of the Treaty. The Commission further raises the question whether the decision of the Roumanian Government to permit no new churches of the Minority denominations to organize or to receive support from the State, that, at the start have less than 300 members, as is alleged, is in accordance with the terms of the Treaty. The Commission, providing that the facts are as alleged, submits that taking away land from the parishes of under 300 members, cannot be in accordance with the terms of the Treaty. It is alleged that the Reformed Churches possessed of less than 300 members had all the land taken from them in the following villages:—

Ribicze.

Dios.

Feherviz.

Eiseskullo.

Marosszentimre.

31. It is further alleged, in this connection, that from the following Reformed Churches having less than 300 members all the land was taken and the Churches financially ruined:—

For reply to Allegations 31, 32, 33, and 34, see page 141.

Clopadia.

Buna.

Santa.

Elena.

Caransebes.

Ciavos.

Nadlock.

In the district of Bihor:—Cacucin Mare, Les Suplac.

In the district of Ermellek:—Cristur.

In the district of Baia Mare:—Livada nous, Tarna Mare, Boscoin.

In the district of Caren Mari:—Ciumess, Dinslesti, Sanmiclaus.

In the district of Salonta Mare:—Negru.

32. It is further alleged that these lands belonging to the Reformed Churches with less than 300 members were expropriated without payment.

33. It is alleged that lands belonging to the Reformed Church were taken and given to the Roumanian Churches about to be formed in Retin, Narkosfalva, and Szilagysimlyo.

34. It is alleged that in Magyarbaksa the land and school belonging to the Reformed Church were taken away and given to the Roumanian Church and the price fixed at 3000 lei, although a fair value of the property would have been not less than 15,000 lei.

35. It is alleged that at Suplac the church bells have recently been taken from the tower of the Reformed Church and given away by the Roumanian offi-

For reply to Allegations 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39,
see page 131.

cial. It is alleged further that the Reformed Church has not a full quota of land and that 50 acres of land has been given for a Roumanian Church which does not yet exist. It is further alleged that in the same town, all the land allowed by the Roumanian Law for the Cantor has been taken away from the Reformed Church and given to the Roumanian Church, although no attempt has been made to found a Roumanian Church, while the land expropriated has been rented, and that no income or payment is given to the Reformed Church.

36. It is alleged that from the Reformed Church at Liznyo, which possessed 32 acres of land and applied for the full quota, 10 acres were taken away and given to the Roumanian Church.

37. It is alleged that at Nasfalau the Reformed Church having 1800 members, possessed 22 acres of land, and applied for the quota, but no answer was received. It is further alleged that the Roumanian Church in the adjoining village, which as yet does not exist, received 140 acres of land.

38. It is alleged by the Dean of the Reformed Church in the district of Mures, that in his district 1,224 acres were expropriated from the Reformed Church. He alleges that only a single Reformed Church in his district (Cserefalva) has received land, this being 18 acres. It is further alleged that this 18 acres of land was taken away after half a year.

39. It is alleged that the Roumanian Churches in

To Allegation 40 no reply is given.

For reply to Allegation 41, see page 131.

OBJECTION

5. The Agrarian law for Ardeal, is much severer than in the old kingdom. Inasmuch (says the memorandum), as in the old kingdom, only the big landowners are dispossessed, whereas in Ardeal it extends also to the small landowners (points 42 and 47 of the memorandum.)

ANSWER

5. The rule of the agrarian law for Ardeal is not severer than it is in the old kingdom. By comparing the texts of these two laws, we may conclude that the rule is severer for the old kingdom. The expropriation of the totality, extends in the old kingdom, without exception, over all the land belonging to alien landowners, absentees, lands let for farming for more than 10 years mortmain lands (art. 7 Agrarian law of the old kingdom) whatever be the area of these estates. Whereas in Ardeal the same class of landowners, are treated much more leniently. Thus strangers are treated the same as Roumanian citizens, the absentees are dispossessed only from 50 jug. upwards, land let for farming from 30 jug. upwards, maintain more lands only from a certain area upwards (*art. 6 exceptions to and 1, 2, 3, 4.*)

The forests in the old kingdom are expropriated according to necessity, in view of creating pasture lands

the district have received their full quota of land, approximately, in each instance.

40. It is alleged that in Zagon an Endowment Fund was given in land, for maintaining a Reformed Church Orphanage. This Endowment was expropriated in 1921-22. The Chief Committee revised their decision and wished to give 30 acres of Endowment Land back, but the head of the Agrarian Committee in St. Georges had rented this 30 acres to Roumanians. The Orphanage, it is alleged, has suffered complete loss of endowment. It is further alleged that the land used for the Cantor of the Reformed Church, was expropriated and given to the Roumanian Church which has not yet been built, and that in the meantime the land is rented. It is alleged further, that the Municipality offered land to the Roumanian Church, if the Roumanians desired to build, but instead of accepting the land from the Municipality the Cantor's land was taken.

41. It is alleged that at Satulcioc, Mures District, the Unitarian Church possessed 24 acres and applied for a further allotment of 14 acres, being less than the legal quota, and received no answer to the appeal, although the Roumanians living in the near-by village of Bozias received apportionments of the land that was being divided, and the Roumanian Church at Zokefalva, having only 97 members, received of this village a grant of 42 acres.

42. It is alleged that the Agrarian Reform Laws for Transylvania differ materially from the Reform

for the communes being liable of being totally taken; whereas in Ardeal, however great the necessity a minimum of 100 jug. is reserved in flat and hilly country, and 200 jug. in the mountains.

To Allegation 40 no reply is given.

For reply to Allegation 41, see page 131.

OBJECTION

6. In the old kingdom the forests are expropriated at current prices, whereas in Ardeal they are taken for an average value of the years 1908-1913 (point 45 of the memorandum).

ANSWER

6. The price of the expropriated forests, is fixed according to the same rules as the expropriated land. It is not true that the current value is paid.

Laws as applied to Old Roumania. It is alleged that the Law for Old Roumania is less radical, and less offensive to private equity. In support of this allegation it is stated that in the old kingdom the land allowed to the holder is fixed in hectars, whereas in Transylvania it is fixed in the same number of acres. As one hectar is equal to 1.738 acres, it follows that the landowners in Old Roumania can keep nearly double the proportion of land allowed in Transylvania. It is further alleged that in Old Roumania the proprietor can keep the quota in each of his several estates, while in Transylvania he is allowed to keep one quota only in one estate.

43. It is further alleged that in Old Roumania the price paid to the landowner is fixed at double the price current in 1916, while in Transylvania it is fixed on the average price of the years 1908-13. Therefore the price received in the old kingdom is much higher than in Transylvania.

44. It is further alleged that as the lei has fallen in value, the real value of the bonds given in payment for the land is only 45 to 50 per cent of the nominal value of the bonds, and so the Transylvania proprietor receives only one per cent of the value of his land. For example, if 500 lei nominal value is the average price given for one acre of land, this represents really no more than 250 lei current value, equal only to six gold francs. The price of the same measure of land before the war was 500 gold francs.

45. It is further alleged that in the ancient king-

For reply to Allegations 43 and 44, see page 141.

dom forests have been expropriated at the present current value, while in Transylvania they have been taken at the average value from 1908-13. It is further alleged that in Old Roumania only the land belonging to the large proprietors has been subject to expropriation, while in Transylvania the land of small farmers, holding from 5 to 16 acres, is often taken away (Article 10 of the Law of Transylvania).

46. It is alleged that the Agrarian Reform Law for Transylvania allows expropriation in towns and villages of small portions of land for the purpose of building dwelling-houses. Under this law, it is alleged that a considerable portion of the land owned by small farmers, who used it for growing vegetables, has been expropriated.

47. It is alleged that the manner in which the Agrarian Reform Law is administered in Transylvania differs widely from the way the Law is administered in Old Roumania, and that whatever be the theory of administration the practice takes away the land from the small farmers, from the Confessional Schools, institutions, and churches, and fails to give equitable compensation as contrasted with the far more equitable administration in Old Roumania.

While the Commission disclaims any pretence of familiarity with the intricacies of Roumanian Law, it respectfully submits that it would be delinquent in its duty if it failed to call the attention of the High Roumanian Ministers of State to these allegations against the administration of the Law.

To Allegation 46 no reply is given.

For reply to Allegation 47, see page 149.

SECTION V

UNGROUPED INSTANCES OF UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE WITH MINORITY RIGHTS

1. Alleged discrimination against the appointment to seats in the Roumanian Senate of the Bishops of the Minority churches.

It is alleged that under the new Constitution no Bishop of a Minority church shall be entitled to sit in the Senate unless the said church shall have a constituent membership of at least 200,000 persons, and that every Bishop of the Roumanian Church shall be entitled to sit in the Senate without any qualification as to the number of his constituents. It is further alleged that under the new Constitution no Minority denomination will be entitled to more than one Bishop in the Senate, even though its constituency be several times greater than 200,000 constituents. For example, the Reformed Church claims 1,000,000 members, yet it will be entitled to no more than one Bishop in the Senate. A request is now before the Roumanian Government for a second Reformed Church Bishop, but it is alleged that under the new Constitution if and when the new Bishop shall be appointed he will not be entitled to sit in the Senate although his constituency will exceed 200,000 persons.

The Commission submits that whatever privileges or restrictions be given or imposed, they should be made equally binding on the majority and the minor-

SECTION V

DIFFERENT CASES OF INTERFERENCE ON THE PART
OF THE AUTHORITIES IN THE RIGHTS OF THE
MINORITIES

1. We will, first of all, observe that the reformed church in the country numbers not a million, and only 650,000 followers, and that in Hungary not all the Bishops of the Protestant church were members of the Senate, although all the Catholic and Orthodox Bishops were "ex officio" members.

It is true that on behalf of the reformed Church, application was made for a second Bishop; this matter will be finally settled at the same time as the organization of the reformed Church, which will be done after the enactment of the law on the cult regime.

ity, and that anything less than such an impartial adjustment constitutes a discrimination against the Minorities.

The Commission further submits that a seat in the Senate for all Minority Bishops, or surely for such as now or later may represent at least 200,000 constituents, is a matter of very great importance for all the Minority denominations.

2. Alleged interference with the meetings for public worship in the Unitarian Church at Trascau, Turda District.

At Trascau a disused building, formerly belonging to the Unitarian Church, and located within the ancient walls which surround the Unitarian Church, has been given to the Roumanian Church for the purposes of public worship. It is alleged that there are about one hundred Roumanians in the village. The Roumanian congregation has erected a church bell adjacent to the wall of the Unitarian Church, being not more than one hundred feet distant. It is alleged that this bell is rung intermittently on Sunday mornings during the hours of worship in the Unitarian Church to the distress of the Unitarian congregation, the members being unable to hear the minister because of the sound of the bell. It is further alleged that in addition to ringing the bell, the Roumanian congregation sounds a metal bar, called a toka, which renders it still more difficult for the members of the Unitarian congregation to hear the minister in the Unitarian Church. The Commission saw the bell and measured the dis-

2. This case has already been settled by a decision of the Prefect of the district of Turda-Aries, who reports to us as follows:

It is true that at Trascau the Roumanian Orthodox chapel is in the school house situated close to the Unitarian Church. The Roumanian Priest used the school bell, to call the faithful to the service, and also when there were burials, weddings, etc. On no occasion can it be said that the Orthodox ever tried to disturb intentionally the Unitarian Church service. After an investigation on the premises he moved certain State offices, and placed the Roumanian chapel where these offices had been, conciliating in this manner both the susceptibility of the Unitarian congregation and the dignity of the Orthodox church.

3. It is true that at Targu Sacuiesc the soldiers pass through the streets singing or trumpeting, on their way to drill, but it is unjust to assert, that they march up and down, in front of the Hungarian Church. They go and come back from drill along the usual road, and if they disturb divine service during this short time, the same may be said for the Roumanian Church, and other public offices. We need not insist on the trifling nature of this complaint.

4. This case regards the courts, the State having nothing to do with it.

5. It is true that the police sequesters instruments such as axes, etc., which constitute the objects of fights which go on with the Secui, besides they are obliged to

tance between it and the church. The Commission saw the post on which the toka is alleged to be sounded. The post is nearer to the Unitarian Church than the bell.

3. At Targul-Sacuesc, Treiscaune District, it is alleged that since the spring of 1924, the soldiery make a practice of singing, trumpeting, and marching to and fro with a band in front of the Minority churches during the hour of public worship, to the distress of the congregations.

Similar cases of interference with public worship in the Minority churches were reported in several districts.

4. City of Brasov. It is alleged that two Singing Corps in 1916 built a club house at No. 22 Strada Porzic, and they are not allowed to occupy it. The case has been appealed; no answer has yet been received.

5. It is alleged in other villages visited by the Commission that the gendarmes were constantly guilty of petty thieving and taking small tools such as axes, and also food, and it is alleged in extenuation that the Roumanian Government failed to pay them an amount sufficient to live upon.

6. It is alleged that no books printed in the Magyar language are allowed to be brought into Transylvania from Budapest. Scientific, educational and religious works are being debarred, even Bibles in the Magyar speech.

It is further alleged that this interference with the

sequester military equipments taken from the enemy,—but there is no question of theft.

6. The general surety department did in fact prohibit at a time, bringing certain books from Budapest, because it was convinced that the very text of the Bible was made use of for propaganda against the Roumanian State. Although even in the school books there were found seditious passages, the Minister of Cult nevertheless used his influence, for the Bible, written in Hungarian, to be allowed to be brought into the country.

purchase of books printed in the Magyar language works to the great disadvantage of all educational institutions and especially of the higher schools.

7. It is alleged that theological students from the Unitarian churches in Hungary, are not permitted to pursue their theological studies at the Unitarian College, Cluj. It is to be remembered that prior to 1919, all the Unitarian churches in Transylvania and in other parts of Hungary, were supplied with ministers trained at this Unitarian Theological College, and that there is no Unitarian School for Ministers in Hungary.

A consistory with a Bishop has been established at Budapest looking to the future autonomy, but it will be impossible for this small group of Unitarian churches in Hungary to establish a Divinity School for the training of its ministers. Students of all the leading colleges of the world are received from foreign countries. The Commission respectfully submits that there appears to be no logical reason why this general custom should not be followed, and Hungarian students permitted to study at the Unitarian Theological College at Cluj. It is further to be remembered in this connection that the Unitarian Theological College is the oldest training school for the Unitarian Ministry in the world, and that it has been held in veneration by the Unitarian churches throughout the world, and that in the past many students from foreign countries have studied there.

The Commission ventures to express the hope that such restrictions as now exist may be so modified as to

7. A provisory measure ought to irredentism agitations which were lately tried there.

permit students from Unitarian churches in Hungary again to study at Cluj.

8. In 1922, the Rev. Tudor Jones, of Bristol, England, visited Transylvania, it is alleged at the invitation of Roumanian officials. He encouraged witnesses to talk freely. After he left, the said witnesses were called to police headquarters and threatened and admonished. This is alleged to have happened in all places visited by Mr. Jones. The Commission could not get explicit information, as the witnesses feared to give their own names, the names of places, or the dates.

9. It is alleged that in the Courts of Transylvania the procedure is exclusively in the Roumanian tongue, which frequently is not understood by the parties most admonished. Testimony on this matter was so constantly given that the Commission is forced to believe that such instances are at the least not infrequent. If and wherever they occur, the Commission respectfully submits that they violate the Treaty, Article 8, "adequate facilities shall be given to Roumania nationals of non-Roumanian speech for the use of their language orally or in writing before the Courts."

It is further alleged that the Roumanian Judges in Transylvania are ill-informed concerning the statutes which they administer.

10. It is alleged that in Martinus, Odorheiu District, peasants are compelled to work on the police land on Sundays in violation of their convictions and without payment. This happened last on June 29th, 1924. The Chief of Gendarmes in the town is changed often,

8. The very vague complaints could not be controlled;—one thing however is certain, that such reprisals have never been sanctioned by the responsible authorities, and do not coincide with the tolerant character of our population.

To Allegation 9 no reply is given.

10. From the information gathered from the Prefect the facts put forward do not seem to be true.

about every month, and complaints are alleged to be useless.

11. It is alleged that in Kezdivasarheoy the inhabitants, especially the merchants, are very often invited on possible and impossible occasions, to take part in very expensive (140-160 lei) banquets. It is understood that to be present is obligatory, as those who are absent are supposed to be antagonistic to the State.

12. It is alleged that schools, trade unions, and associations are ordered to take part in Orthodox church services held in the town-square, and also to take part in processions.

13. It is alleged that the Hospital of Kezdivasarheoy—founded and maintained by public generosity—was taken over, and nationalized by the Government on the ground that no private hospital can be maintained in the country. The association law passed on the 6th of February, 1924, permits this; still, the Hospital was taken over on the ground of the earlier “*lex specialis*,” which forbids hospitals to be kept by private individuals or companies.

14. It is alleged that in 1923 throughout the Tarnava District placards were posted encouraging Roumanians to take away the property of Minorities, and that the gendarmes allowed them to be displayed freely for two weeks before ordering their removal.

15. It is alleged that Fulop Domokos, teacher in Mujna, Odorheiu District, while doing his prescribed military service in the 89th Regiment at Brasov in 1923, was offered release by the military authority

11. The mayor of the town of Kezdivasarheli, Mr. Morvay Endre, who is a true born Hungarian, shows that for the banquets which were to be given, he sent lists which were presented to the guests. He declares that it is not true that these invitations were binding; on the contrary he says that on these occasions he did not know how to do, not to offend anybody by leaving him out of the list, as there were many cases where various persons were vexed at not being asked.

12. The reports received prove these points to be untrue.

13. The hospital of Targul Secuilor has been taken over by the State at the special request of those who managed it, amongst whom we may mention the countess Mikes. The reason for transferring this hospital to the care of the State was the want of proper means for keeping it up.

14. The corps of gendarmes of Sighisioara state that no advertisements of the nature of those mentioned, were ever stuck anywhere within the territory of the district of Tarnava Mare.

15. Such an affirmation cannot be taken into consideration.

a year before his service expired if he would declare himself Roumanian and take a Roumanian name. He refused and served his full term.

16. It is alleged that teachers in State schools and priests of the Roumanian Church have asserted that surnames long used in Magyar form were formerly Roumanian surnames, and have forced children into the Roumanian division of the State schools when they could understand no language but Magyar, and claimed to be of Magyar descent. If the facts are as alleged, they constitute a violation of freedom in religious affiliation. It is alleged further that explicit information was withheld from the Commission for fear of reprisals by local officials.

17. It appears that the Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian Churches in Transylvania all contributed to their denominational clergy Pension Funds which were under the guardianship of the Hungarian State and in the care of the several denominational Hungarian authorities.

It is alleged that these Pension Funds are not now available for the ministers in the several Transylvanian churches. It was submitted to the Commission by many of the high officers of the Minority churches that they believed the Roumanian State should, through proper diplomatic channels, take up this question with the Hungarian State in order that a fair portion of the Hungarian clergy Pension Funds might be allotted to the Transylvanian churches that formerly were in

16. Having no precise data we can have no proofs of such things existing, of which so far we know nothing.

17. The question of the ecclesiastical, school, etc. pension fund, as well as of a certain class of State officials, and others put on the same footing (the teachers, church school professors, etc. pension fund) come under the provisions of articles 249 and 356 respectively of the Trianon treaty, as regards Hungary.

These funds have to be distributed to the States concerned.

As these funds however concern Priests etc. belonging to ecclesiastical authorities, who exercise their activity over territories transferred to more than one State, the question cannot be decided by mutual understanding between Hungary and Roumania, but must be decided by all the States concerned, in a conference, all these States being represented.

As regards the funds in Hungary, the States concerned are Hungary, Roumania, Jougo-Slavia, Tcheckoslovakia, and Austria.

The initiative of calling such a conference should be taken, as the conference meeting in Vienna and in Rome has not this question in its programme.—We may add that the Roumanian government has always proved a great interest for this pension fund, and at this moment is considering the matter which is the object of special studies for a future conference.

affiliation with the churches of the same confession in Hungary.

The Commission respectfully submits that any initiative which the High Roumanian Ministers of State might see their way to take in bringing this matter to the attention of the proper Hungarian Ministers would be a cause of gratification to the Transylvanian Minority churches.

This is the answer to the memorandum of August 1st 1924 an answer founded on the undisputed reality of the facts.

It proves:

I. That as regards the principles which guide its policy towards minorities, the Roumanian State is solely inspired by the broadest spirit of tolerance and liberalism.

II. That very many of the complaints set forth, in the memorandum (we are obliged to say it) have the character of trifling episodes, and even insignificant events.

We can finish by observing that day by day a great improvement is produced in the consolidation of Roumania's task;—thus as regards the church schools, a new law is on the point of being voted by Parliament, a law which has been prepared by the Minister of Instruction with the representatives of the church schools working together, whose text is drawn up in a most liberal sense, as is publicly acknowledged by the minority press of Roumania.

COMMENTS ON THE REPLY OF THE ROUMANIAN
GOVERNMENT

The Memorandum submitted by the Commission to the Roumanian Government presents 135 alleged cases of abuse, classified under five headings, selected from an enormous mass of evidence, not as peculiar, but as symptomatic. The Commission begs the members of the Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities and the other readers of this report to hold in mind the following statements while comparing the Memorandum with the Government's reply.

1. The Roumanian Government alleges that the Reformed (Presbyterian) and Unitarian Transylvanian Bishops did not know of all the alleged instances of abuse. To this statement and its implication the Commission respectfully begs to take exception. The Bishops of the Minority churches, Reformed (Presbyterian), Lutheran, Roman Catholic, and Unitarian, are fully conversant with the kind of abuses which these cases represent, and they have so stated publicly on many occasions. Further, three of the Bishops met the Commission in Transylvania and made personal affirmation of their knowledge of abuses.

2. The Roumanian Government denies all but two of the cases of abuse (Section II, Case 8, Section III, Case 2 (k)), and these are not the most important. In one instance only (Section V, Case 2), and here the text of the reply is not wholly clear, is redress given.

3. It will be observed that the Roumanian Government evades questions regarding its policy. The Commission respectfully submits that the evasion and silence of the Roumanian Government's reply are significant.

4. In certain of the denials the Roumanian Government makes large and significant admissions. For example: in Case (d), page 111, the Government admits that any person whose name a local official may decide to be of Roumanian origin can be coerced against his wish and judgment to unite with the Roumanian Church, and also against his judgment and wish he can be required to send his children to the Roumanian Department of the State School. Is this consistent with civil and religious liberty?

5. The Roumanian Government makes one general denial to no less than 35 explicit and different alleged instances of abuse.

6. The Commission submits that in all the sections of the Roumanian Government's reply, except concerning the schools, there is no evidence that an impartial and real investigation has been made. In regard to the schools, there is no evidence that any investigation has been made beyond consulting the records. For example, to state that a Confessional School has been closed because of improper housing, does not at all answer the question why the Government confiscated the excellent building and equipment belonging to the Confessional School and then turned the school out to seek such quarters as in its poverty it could secure, thus

creating the conditions which it claims led to the closing of the school.

The High Ministers of State in conference with the Commission acknowledged certain abuses. For example, Case 5 (a) pages 118 and 120, where the Unitarian College was penalized by one Department of the Government for obeying another Department; and again in Case 5 (c), pages 120 and 122, where the Reformed (Presbyterian) College at Kun met with severe losses and was closed. Further, the High Ministers of State promised relief. The reply shows that nothing has been done.

8. One constant complaint which the Minorities made to the Commission was to the effect that abuses are presented to the Bucharest Government with all details, are listened to sympathetically, and relief is promised. Then nothing whatever is done. The Commission submits that this is the treatment accorded to the Memorandum, which was written at the request of the Roumanian Government and with every desire on the part of the members of the Commission to co-operate with the Roumanian Government for the welfare of the Minorities.

9. The Commission submits that the reply of the Roumanian Government is evasive and inconclusive.

To avoid all possibility of misunderstanding, it is again stated that this report expresses the findings of the Commission and not the findings of the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities, to whom it is now submitted. The Committee has as yet expressed no opinion.



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